University of Alberta

Perceptions and Parameters of Education as a Treaty Right within the Context of Treaty 7

by

Sheila Carr-Stewart ©

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of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled **Perceptions and Parameters of Education as a Treaty Right within the Context of Treaty 7** submitted by Sheila Carr-Stewart in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Educational Administration and Leadership.

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In memory of
John and Betty Carr
and
Pat and Myrtle Stewart

Abstract

On September 22, 1877, representatives of the Blackfoot Confederacy, Tsuu T'ina and Stoney Nations, and Her Majesty's Government signed Treaty 7. Over the next century, Canada provided educational services based on the Constitution Act, Section 91(24). The People maintained that their right to education stemmed from Treaty 7. The purpose of this dissertation is to research The Peoples' awareness and understanding of western education prior to the signing of Treaty 7, the treaty educational discussions, the provision of education, and the basis for the consistent demand for education as a treaty right.

The literature review focuses on the Treaty discussions. Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council (1996) maintained that "the Crown thought that what was written down was the final word, [and] the Aboriginal people believed that what was said in the discussions . . . was as valid as what was written down" (p. 200). A conflict central to Asch's (1997) argument that both the oral understandings of the treaties and the written materials were essential for the cultural integrity of both partners (p. x). Cardinal (1970) stated "Indian Affairs holds the policy that education is a privilege—not a right. Our treaties expressly say otherwise" (p. 37).

Research methodology focuses on the human or social action within the historical setting and "begins from the point of view that inquiry is a mater of perception of qualities and appraisal of their value (Schwandt, 1997, p. 130). An interdisciplinary approach to both written documents and recorded oral history enabled the researcher to construct the "histories" of the signing of Treaty 7.

This research found that by 1877, through contact with explorers, fur traders, and missionaries, The People were cognizant of western educational practices. Following the treaty signing, parents freely sent their children to community day schools but resisted

pressure to enroll their children in industrial schools. Regulations eliminated choice, the residential schools became the norm and provided dismal educational services.

This research recommends that Canada recognize The People's treaty right to education, undertake to counteract a century of failure to provide quality educational programming, financially support First Nation educational governance mechanisms, and ensure First Nation children enjoy the educational opportunities their ancestors sought and agreed to when signing Treaty 7.

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List of Abbreviations

DIA	Department of Indian Affairs
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
HBCA	Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay Company Archives
NA	National Archives of Canada
PAM	Provincial Archives of Manitoba
SF	Special File, Hudson's Bay Company Archives

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The wind whistled through the prairie grasses as The People[1] gathered at Blackfoot Crossing, a meeting place nestled within the Bow River Valley which throughout time had provided the people of the Blackfoot Confederacy with fresh water, the herbs and berries needed for medicine, firewood, wild game for food, and rocks and willows for ritual ceremonies. The people of the Blackfoot confederacy, comprised of the Kainaiwa (Blood), Piikani (Peigan), and Siksika (Blackfoot) people. They were joined on this occasion by the small Tsuu T'ina First Nation[2] whose language and culture were different from that of the Blackfoot Confederacy but often affiliated with the Confederacy. The Stoney Tribe also journeyed to Blackfoot Crossing but usually associated with the Cree people—the traditional enemies of the Blackfoot Confederacy—the Stoneys camped apart from the Blackfoot gathering. But the day would be like no other, for on this day the First Nations would assemble to negotiate with representatives of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria of Great Britain and Ireland and all her Dominions and, in so doing, would sign on September 22, 1877, a peace treaty between themselves and the Queen's representatives. The document to which representatives of the Crown and the First Nations would attach their signatures would be known as Treaty 7, a legal agreement between the two parties—the Blackfoot confederacy, Tsuu T'ina Nation and the Stoney Tribe—who together would constitute Treaty 7 and the fledgling Dominion of Canada which represented the Queen's government in Great Britain. Treaty 7 was thus an agreement or compact between these two parties, and, as defined by the Statute of International Court of Justice, a treaty establishes rules between two or more contesting states (Yogis, 1995). Treaty 7 recognized

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[1] The People is used throughout to specifically refer to the collectivity of the Blackfoot, Blood, Peigan, Stoney, and Tsuu T'ina people who are members of Treaty 7.

[2] First Nation is used throughout in place of Band to identify "a body of Indians....for whose use and benefit in common, lands....have been set aside" (Imai, 1998, p. 3).

> the desire of Her Majesty to open up for settlement, and such other purposes as to Her Majesty may seem meet, a tract of country, bounded and described as hereinafter mentioned, and to obtain the consent thereto of Her Indian subjects inhabiting the said tract . . . so that there may be peace and good will between them and Her Majesty, and between them and Her Majesty's other subjects: and that Her Indian people may know and feel assured of what allowances they are to count upon and receive from Her Majesty's bounty and benevolence. (*Treaty 7*, p. 3)

The Treaty established an agreement or contract between two nations. The representatives of the Crown who signed Treaty 7 did so with the purpose in mind of securing the territory north of the international boundary, east of the Rocky Mountains, west of the Cypress Hills, and south of the Red Deer River for the purpose of settlement by European immigrants and Canadian farmers and entrepreneurs (*Treaty 7*, p. 3). Free access through the Blackfoot Confederacy land was also needed to fulfil the commitment by the then Prime Minister of Canada, Sir John A. MacDonald, to British Columbia, which had joined confederation in 1871, that the railway would stretch from eastern Canada to the Pacific Ocean within a decade of their joining the Dominion of Canada. In July 1873, the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories and Chief Treaty Commissioner for Treaties 3-6 wrote to the Minister of the Interior: "The rapid influx of settlement into . . . the Fertile Belt . . . [and] with the prospect of the construction of the Pacific Railway, bringing with its progress a large number of labourers, makes it important that Treaties should be made with the Native Tribes" (PAM.MG.12.B2. Box2/4). The Treaty Commissioners clearly understood the purpose of their negotiations and, speaking in the English language, they explained such to their Blackfoot hosts and subsequently produced a written document of the deliberations at Blackfoot Crossing. The people of the Blackfoot Confederacy also came to the negotiations with a purpose (Morris, 1991, p. 246). Increasing numbers of settlers and traders were moving into their territory, and The People wished to negotiate, with the Queen's representatives, a peaceful sharing of the plains (Dempsey, 1972, p. 82). Also, the buffalo, their traditional source of food and the basis of the economy, were disappearing, and The People knew they were required to gain an alternative livelihood (p. 82).

Representatives of the five First Nations who negotiated at Blackfoot Crossing on behalf of their people spoke in their own language: The people of Tsuu T'ina spoke in

Beaver, those belonging to the Blackfoot Confederacy spoke in Blackfoot, and the Stoney tribes conversed in Stoney, a Sioux dialect. Collectively, their understanding of English was limited at best; and the Beaver, Blackfoot, and Stoney language ability of the Commissioners was nonexistent, and they spoke in English. The two parties to the Treaty conversed through interpreters. Jerry Potts and Jimmy Bird, both hired by the Treaty Commissioners, were the main translators, and their translation skills in the multilingual gathering have been questioned (Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, 1996, p. 60). The Commissioners prepared the written Treaty document to represent the negotiations between themselves and the Blackfoot Confederacy. The Treaty thus was the official means by which the land occupied by The People, as the First Nations referred to themselves, was ceded to the Crown for specific economic and social services. No written documents were put forth by First Nations to counterbalance the document submitted by the Treaty Commissioners. The members of the Blackfoot Confederacy, the Tsuu T'ina and Stoney tribes, relied upon their word and the word of those with whom they were negotiating, as well as the religious ceremonies of the peace pipe, to be their "document." Theirs was an oral culture, not a written one. The oral history of that day at Blackfoot Crossing has been passed from generation to generation among Treaty 7 orators just as their history and culture have always been. Thus two very distinct societies, each with its own language and culture, met and negotiated at Blackfoot Crossing, each believing that the other had fully understood the intent and purpose of the discussions, and subsequently agreed to a treaty. The Treaty would, however, be as much a symbol of misunderstandings as it would be of mutual agreement between the two parties. Over the next century the two entities would debate the "original intent and spirit" of the Treaty and find little consensus in their understanding of the discussions at Blackfoot Crossing.

One of the services negotiated in Treaty 7, and often symbolic of the difference in understanding between the two parties, was education. Each party agreed to the article that "instruction" would be provided to members of Treaty 7, but over the century little agreement was reached on what the treaty right to education entailed. The inability to establish the "true spirit" of what was defined as a treaty right to education for Treaty 7 members would be an issue which at times over the century caused conflict and frequent dissension and marred the relationship between the two parties who had signed Treaty 7 in 1877.

The specific area of focus of this study is educational governance in relation to the written commitment of Her Majesty to "pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to Her Government of Canada may seem advisable, when said Indians are settled on their Reserves and shall desire teachers" (*Treaty 7*, p. 5). It is my intent through this study to focus on the following:

1. written materials such as primary historical documents available from parliamentary debates, government documents, Parliamentary Joint Commissions, the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, private papers of appropriate officials, and church documents which relate to the federal government's constitutional responsibility for the education of First Nation people; as well as appropriate documents, photographs, and paintings relating to the signing of the numbered treaties and education; and

2. oral history which has been documented over the past century, as well as interviews to be conducted with First Nation elders and other representatives, regarding the oral history relating to the signing of the numbered treaties and specifically Treaty 7.

Using primary documents, written materials, and oral history, it is my intent to ascertain the basis for the divergent understandings relating to the right to "instruction" negotiated along with other services at Blackfoot Crossing in exchange for use of the territory by Euro-Canadian settlers.

Need for the Study

The 19th century was one of significant change for the First Nation people of the plains, and especially for the Blackfoot confederacy, whose traditional territory for at least 10,000 to 12,000 years had spanned the area often referred to today as the Canadian prairies. The Blackfoot Confederacy, Tsuu T'ina and Stoney societies, each with its own language and culture as well as philosophical, religious, educational, and government structures, were by the mid-19th century facing significant threats to their society and livelihood. Fur trappers, surveyors, and settlers frequently brought diseases such as smallpox and measles into the midst of the First Nation people, who lacked immunity, and as a result rampant outbreaks of such diseases among the First Nations quickly reduced their population. At the beginning of the 19th century approximately 65 million buffalo dominated the prairies. These animals formed the basis of the economy and the main source of food for the people of the Treaty 7 area. However, the buffalo were quickly disappearing from the prairies, the result of unfettered hunting predominantly by American bounty hunters. According to Reid (1992), the buffalo slaughter reached its peak between 1870 and 1875, when an estimated two-and-a-half million bison per year were destroyed for their hides. The People were thus quickly losing their traditional source of food and supplies as well as their economic base. Their society was also being decimated by the unscrupulous forays of the whiskey traders into their territory seeking buffalo robes in exchange for alcohol. The effects of the latter created social and economic upheaval in the communities. The People were, therefore, threatened with a dwindling population, failure of their economy, famine, and the crumbling of their traditional way of life.

The Blackfoot Confederacy, recognizing the ever-growing number of settlers moving into their territory and the subsequent threat to their traditional lifestyle, sent notice, through the Canadian militia Major General E. Selby-Smith, that they wished to enter into a treaty with the Queen's government as the Cree people to the east and north of them had done (Morris, 1991, p. 82). The Canadian government on behalf of the British Crown also wished to complete the treaty process from Lake Superior to the Rocky mountains, and both parties ultimately agreed to meet at Blackfoot Crossing in September 1877. The purpose of the meeting was, as Treaty 7 informs us to deliberate upon certain matters of interest to Her Most Gracious Majesty, on the one part, and the said Indians of the other (*Treaty No. 7 1877*). The negotiations led to the signing of Treaty 7 on September 22, 1877, whereby, among other services, the First Nations agreed that in exchange for the use of their traditional lands, they would receive certain services, among which was education.

Little or no research has been conducted to identify the intent or purpose of including education in Treaty 7 or in the other numbered treaties; however, First Nations have consistently demanded that education services be available to their people as a treaty right. The federal government on the other hand has, to varying degrees during the last century, provided education services to First Nations through various administrative structures, with differing goals and fluctuating levels of financial commitment, and frequently without First Nations' input. Education has throughout the past century been an issue of contention between the federal government and First Nations in general and Treaty 7 in particular.

There is, therefore, a great need to establish why education was included in the Treaty 7 negotiations and to establish a meaningful context for education, not only at the time of the signing of the Treaty, but also within the present day dynamics. The federal government's First Nation education policy since 1973 has been to transfer control of education to First Nations across Canada as well as to support self-government agreements with First Nations. Within this context the five Nations within Treaty 7 have assumed administrative responsibility for their educational programs. Yet despite assuming administrative control for current educational programming, the basis for education services and the level of funding for such services remains a major issue between First Nations and the federal government. There is a need, therefore, to address the legislative, policy, and administrative roles of the federal government and the Treaty entitlement to education in order to enable First Nation people to receive a commitment to and the provision of a quality education equal to educational opportunities available to other Canadians and within the framework of the Treaty agreement.

Purpose of the Study

The major purpose of this study is to determine the following:

1. the purpose and intent of the Treaty 7 "education" clause, which states, "Her Majesty agrees to pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to Her Government of Canada may seem advisable, when said Indians are settled on their Reserves" (*Treaty 7*, p. 5);

2. to what extent this clause is in conflict with or supports the reference to First Nation people in the Canadian Constitution Act, the Indian Act, and education administrative guidelines and policies of the various federal departments;

3. whether the education governance structure for the people of Treaty 7 provides an education system equitable to that provided pursuant to the province of Alberta's School Act for other residents of the province; and

4. whether the intent and purpose of the Treaty 7 education clause has provided educational opportunities for the people whose ancestors signed the Treaty in 1877.

Specific Research Questions

The specific research questions are divided into sections. First, the research analyzes the degree of interrelatedness or conflict between the various acts and the numbered treaties as they relate to the right to an education for First Nation students in general, and specifically for students within the Treaty 7 area. Second, the research questions examine the purpose for and intent of including the education article in Treaty 7 by the co-signers. Third, the research examines the comparability of the basis for educational governance and education services for members of Treaty 7 with educational governance and services provided by the Alberta provincial government for those residents within its jurisdiction. Finally, the research questions address whether or not the people of Treaty 7 have, over the century, been the beneficiaries of the "instruction" to which their ancestors agreed and envisioned when they signed Treaty 7 at Blackfoot Crossing in September 1877.

Research Questions

What is the relationship between Treaty 7, the Constitution Act, and the Indian Act in relation to education? To what extent are these documents supportive of or in conflict with each other in relation to the governance of education for First Nation people in Alberta? Is the language used in Treaty 7 similar to or different from that used in the other numbered treaties signed on behalf of the British Monarch with First Nation people between 1871 and 1899?

What was the understanding and purpose of education according to the First Nation representatives who signed Treaty 7?

What was the purpose of the commitment of Her Majesty's government to provide "instruct[ion to] the children of said Indians as to Her Government of Canada may seem advisable"? Was this "instruction" similar to or different from "instruction" and education governance available to other Canadian children from 1877 onwards?

To what extent have Treaty 7 children been the beneficiaries of the "instruction," and has the provision of education for First Nation children been consistent or changed over time? Is the education received by Treaty 7 students appropriate for today's world, or does education marginalize First Nation students?

Operational Definitions

For the purpose of clarity, the following definitions are used throughout this research paper:

Aboriginal rights	The legal definition from Yogis (1995) is used, which refer to a range of rights held by native peoples, not by virtue of Crown grant, agreement, or legislation, but by reason of the fact that aboriginal peoples were once independent, self-governing entities, in possession of most of the lands now making up Canada. (p. 1) Aboriginal rights and freedoms are constitutionally protected in Section 25 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Section 35(1) of the Constitution Act of 1982. recognizes and affirms the existing Aboriginal and treaty rights of Aboriginal people.
Blackfoot Confederacy	The Kainaiwa (Blood), the Piikani (Peigan), and the Siksika (Blackfoot) nations were members of the confederacy, united by a common language, Blackfoot, and a shared culture. The Tsuu T'ina (Sarcee), a small band of Beaver people, were affiliated with the Blackfoot Confederacy.
Common law	For operational purposes, Yogis' (1995) definition is used, which is the system of jurisprudence, which originated in England and was later applied in Canada, that is based on judicial precedent rather than legislative enactments. . . . Common law depends for its authority upon the recognition given by the courts to principles, customs, and rules of conduct previously existing among people. It is now recorded in the law reports that embody decisions of the judges together with the reasons they assigned for the decisions. (p. 45)

Constitution	The construct of rules, regulations, and laws. In Canada the central constitutional document is the British North America Act of 1867, which was renamed the Canadian Constitutional Act in 1982 when it was repatriated from Great Britain.
First Nation	The preferred nomenclature rather than *Band,* which is used in the Indian Act.
Indian Act	An act respecting Indians, passed by the Parliament of Canada in 1876, and amended from time to time.
Indian	As defined by the Indian Act, a person who, pursuant to the Indian Act, is registered as an Indian or is entitled to be registered as an Indian (Imai, 1996).
Indian Band	A body of Indians (a) for whose use and benefit in common, lands, the legal title to which is vested in Her Majesty, have been set apart before, on or after the 4th day of September 1951, (b) for whose use and benefit in common, moneys are held by Her Majesty or (c) declared by the Governor in Council to be a band for the purposes of this Act. (Imai, 1996, p. 3)
Reserve	(a) Means a tract of land, the legal title to which is vested in Her Majesty, that has been set apart by Her Majesty for the use and benefit of a band, and (b) . . . includes designated lands. (Imai, 1996, p. 5)
Stoney Tribe	Descendants of the Dakota Sioux who lived in three groups, the Bearspaw, Chiniki, and Wesley. They lived northwest of the Blackfoot Confederacy and were invited to meet with the Confederacy at Blackfoot Crossing in 1877.
Treaty	In international law, a compact made between two or more independent nations with a view to the public welfare. The Statute of International Court of Justice speaks of international conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting states. (Yogis, 1995, p. 227)
Treaty Indian	"Native Canadians who entered into treaties with the Dominion government and who by certain treaties, gave up

	certain rights and in return secured certain rights and who usually at the same time received reserves of land, they having given up their right to a larger domain. (Yogis, 1995, p. 228)
Treaty 7	Made and concluded on September 22, 1877, at Blackfoot Crossing between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen and the Blackfeet, Blood, Peigan, Sarcee, and Stoney inhabitants of the Territory north of the United States Boundary Line, east of the central range of the Rocky Mountains, and south and west of Treaties numbers six and four (Treaty 7).

Assumptions

For the purpose of this study, the assumptions were as follows:

1. Elders and others interviewed were willing to share the oral history of Treaty 7 with the researcher;

2. Elders and others interviewed could accurately, to the best of their understanding, recall the oral history of the collectivity of Treaty 7 and/or the oral history of their own First Nation;

3. People felt free, when promised confidentiality, to discuss their thoughts without fear of reprisal;

4. Treaty 7 was signed in good faith;

5. The written Treaty 7 document is reflective of the mainstream Canadian society in the Victorian age; and

6. Education can be defined within the context of both First Nation and Canadian societies.

Significance of the Study

Over the last two decades, there has been a significant increase not only in the literature regarding treaty land entitlement but also in the number of treaty land entitlement claims settled through both negotiations and the legal system. The basis for treaty land entitlement claims stems from the various treaties signed, predominantly in the 19th century, by colonial and Canadian commissioners on behalf of Her Majesty's

Government and representatives of the First Nations. Collectively, these claims are referred to as *specific claims* by the Canadian government because the official interpretation is that First Nations who signed treaties surrendered all land and in signing the treaties extinguished their Aboriginal title; thus, *specific claims* relate directly to the interpretation of the treaties (Flanagan, 1992, p. 45). These claims are often based on the very same treaties which include the reference to "education" or "instruction." However, there is a scarcity of literature and little legal precedence relating to the issue of the treaty education entitlement or a treaty right to education. Education entitlement like land entitlement is referred to in all the numbered treaties, and specifically in Treaty 7. This study focuses on education as a treaty entitlement or, as often referred to by First Nation people, education as a treaty right.

Although the federal government has, to varying degrees, provided education services to First Nation people over the past century, it has done so on the basis of the 1867 British North America Act, repatriated in 1982 and subsequently referred to as The Constitution Act, and on the basis of the Indian Act. Collectively, prairie First Nation people have consistently claimed that the right to education stems from the specific numbered Treaty and that although The Constitution Act recognizes their treaty rights, The Indian Act is simply the Canadian government's administrative mechanism. This difference in belief regarding the authority for or basis of educational services for First Nations has consistently created conflict, and at times confrontation, between First Nation people and the federal government.

This study therefore addresses the issue of education as a treaty right and the relationship or congruence between the legal and administrative documents relating to First Nation education. Specifically, it reviews the documentation and oral history relating to the Treaty 7 negotiations at Blackfoot Crossing and, in so doing, adds to the understanding and defining of education as a treaty right. Furthermore, it is hoped that this study will assist in the negotiation of education and self-government agreements and other partnership arrangements between First Nations and the government of Canada, by identifying the intent and purpose of including education in the treaties; the understanding of education to both parties of the treaties at the time of the signing

Treaty 7, and the degree to which education services or opportunities have been available over the century to First Nation people within Treaty 7.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In reviewing the literature relating to the numbered treaties, and specifically to Treaty 7, a number of factors emerge, sometimes supportive of each other and at other times juxtaposed or in opposition to each other. The interplay of these factors or issues is essential to understanding the contextual environment of the meeting at Blackfoot Crossing between the two co-signers of Treaty 7. Members of the North-West Mounted Police who escorted the Treaty Commissioners, as well as government representatives who either attended the meeting or those who negotiated on behalf of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, have left accounts of their impressions of the meeting and the intent of the negotiations. As well, writings from historical, legal, biographical, and anthropological sources have focussed on the numbered treaties, specifically Treaty 7. All the early material as well as the majority of material to date has been written by non-Aboriginal people, which both Denis (1997) and Chamberlain (1997) maintained not only privileged the written texts and perceptions of Euro-Canadians but also supported "whitestream" Canadian society.

No documents exist written by Aboriginal people at the time of the signing of Treaty 7 or shortly thereafter since the Treaty 7 people passed on their history through the oral tradition. Chamberlain (1997), in "Culture and Anarchy in Indian Country," pointed out that there remains a persistent habit of reducing the oral texts to the status of secondary documents rather than accepting their primary authority. Nevertheless, Chamberlain maintained that

> the oral versions, the spoken texts, of treaties are fundamentally important not just because they are original—though they certainly are—but because they are the texts upon which both the political authority and the cultural integrity of both sides ultimately depend, bulwarks against the anarchy of relativist political (which is to say legal) interpretations and the chaos of cultural pluralism. (p. 36)

It was not until the mid-20th century that the Treaty 7 people began to document their oral history and consequently add to the literature relating to Treaty 7. The literature review therefore spans the century from the signing of Treaty 7 to the present and within the contextual environment of the Treaty 7 signing. The review focus is on materials relating to the factors or issues specific to the signing of Treaty 7, and second on a review of the literature specifically relating to the inclusion of "education" in Treaty 7.

Joe Dion, former President of the Indian Association of Alberta, stated that even 100 years after the signing of the treaties, there was no common understanding of the spirit of the treaties between the Government of Canada and Alberta treaty people (Price, 1980). In a similar vein, Price wrote, "It is our belief that Indian people and governments have conflicting perceptions of these Indian treaties" and suggested that the basis of this confusion "resides in the Indian treaty negotiations of the last century" (p. xi). In fact, Price stated, "Government and Indian leaders tend to operate within two different systems of knowledge and perceptions of reality regarding basic 'treaty rights'"(p. xi). Miller (1991), in *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*, was more explicit when he stated that government

> officials and Indian leaders emerged from the negotiations with different understandings of what had transpired. Indians thought that they had concluded treaties of friendship and mutual assistance, while agreeing to the entry into their lands at some future date of agriculture settlement. The government in Ottawa believed that the treaties secured the Indians' surrender of whatever claim they had to the vast lands of western Canada. (p. 168-169)

These two diverse opinions between the representatives of the First Nations and the Crown were reinforced by Francis and Palmer (1985) in *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*. They concluded that the government officials and the Indians had fundamentally different understandings of the meaning of the treaties. They stated:

> Some Indian elders believe that the agreements allowed the newcomers, at most, the use of their land. They were peace treaties. In contrast, governments have pointed to the respective texts, which state clearly, in proper legal phrases, that the Indians have sold all of their rights. (p. 184)

Present-day Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council (1996) maintained in their book *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7* that there was no agreed-upon interpretation of Treaty 7 between themselves and the Canadian government, because "the Crown thought that what was written down was the final word, [and] the Aboriginal people believed that what was said in the discussions at Blackfoot Crossing was as valid as what was written down" (p. 200). This cultural conflict between the written text and the oral history of

Treaty 7 is central to Asch's (1997) argument in *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada: Essays on Law, Equality, and Respect for Difference.* For Asch it was essential for the cultural integrity of both partners of the Treaty to refer to both the oral understandings of the treaties and the written materials (p. x)

Historical Precedent and Territorial Expansion

The Proclamation of 1763 issued by the British Crown stated that settlement was forbidden on Indian lands until such lands had been ceded to the British government. The Crown's edict established its relationship with First Nations "in the eastern half of North America," and also "shaped the Dominion of Canada's attitudes and response" to the western regions and the securing of legal access, by the Crown, to those lands (Ray, Miller & Tough, 2000, p. 32-33). Subsequently the practice of signing treaties with First Nations became an established mechanism between First Nations and the Crown in matters relating to the use of First Nation lands for "development purposes" (p. 32). Prior to 1760s, however, the British simply assumed ownership of the portions of the land. Thus regardless that First Nation people had lived in this vast land since "time began," the Hudson's Bay Company through royal prerogative of Charles II of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, was granted The Royal Charter Incorporating The Hudson's Bay Company in 1670. The Hudson's Bay Company became "the true and absolute lords and proprietors" of the territory which became known as Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory. By royal decree, therefore, the Hudson's Bay Company gained ownership of all lands drained by the rivers flowing into Hudson Bay, an action which Flanagan (1992) argued was in keeping with 17th-century international law and the European claim to sovereignty and the right to rule. Olive Dickason (2000) in an article entitled "Old World Law and New World Political Realities" provided a more in depth analysis of the matter and argued that Britain, like other European colonial powers, used their own legal tenets to justify the amassing of foreign lands

> since a large proportion of the . . . [First Nations] followed a mobile lifestyle without settled abodes, "like beasts in the woods," they were not inhabitants according to European law, since they "ranged" rather inhabiting the land. In this interpretation, most of the Americas were legally *terra nullius*, "empty land," and thus subject to discovery. A second legal phrase, *vacuum domicilium*, expressed another version of the same idea. According to these concepts it was reasoned that

> proprietary rights could only exist within the framework of law enacted by an organized state; the lands of prestate peoples without such statutory law were therefore legally vacant. In other words, habitation or occupation from "time immemorial" had no meaning unless validated by positive law. (p. 154)

European legal customs, therefore, chose not to recognize First Nations as sovereign, self-governing people who occupied the land (Denis, 1997). Britain thus having assumed ownership, according to its own rituals, granted the land by charter to the Hudson Bay's Company. Two hundred years later, following Confederation, Britain loaned Canada £300,000 to buy out the Company's charter. At the Qu'Appelle Treaty negotiations (1874) when Pis-qua learned of the sale, he asked Lieutenant Governor Morris for the £300,00 believing the land was not the Company's to sell in the first place (Morris, 1991, p. 106).

Having purchased the territory, Canada was eager to attract settlement to the west, and was also committed to constructing a railway to fulfil its promise to connect British Columbia to the eastern provinces. In its nation desire to extend from "to sea to sea" and as an extension of the British colonial practice of entering into agreements with First Nations, Morton (1985) suggested that the fledgling Canadian government embarked upon a process of treaty making with the First Nation people. Thus Morton argued that the Canadian government recognized that "if white settlements were to be established in the west, some accommodation must be made with the Indians regarding the division of ownership of the land" (Morton, 1985, p. 115). Miller (1991), however, believed that there was more to the Canadian desire to sign treaties with the Aboriginal people of the prairies than adherence to the British colonial tradition of treaty making with First Nations. Miller stated that "negotiation in advance of settlement was also [a] cheap" way to do business (p. 162). He believed that the alternative—the American way of going to war with the First Nations—was too expensive for the newly formed Dominion of Canada, and questioned how Canada would have bankrolled a railway across the prairies if all of its money had been spent on battling the Indians of the region (p. 162). Miller supported his argument with reference to the House of Commons Debates of 1877:

> My commissioners have made further treaty arrangements with certain of the Indian tribes of the North-West Territories, by which their title is extinguished to a very large portion of the territories west of Treaty No. 4; and, although some of

> the provisions of this treaty are of a somewhat onerous and exceptional character, I have thought it nonetheless advisable on the whole to ratify it. . . . The expenditure incurred by the Indian treaties is undoubtedly large, but the Canadian policy is nevertheless the cheapest. (p. 162)

Creighton (1970) argued that the Canadian government's decision to negotiate a series of treaties in the central territory was a systematic decision to facilitate settlement. "Long before any considerable body of settlers reached the west, federal Indian agents, surveyors, engineers and police had arrived to prepare the way for the newcomers," which ensured that "western Indian tribes surrendered their original title to the land in exchange for reserves" (p. 26). This preplanning for settlers was also echoed by McInnis (1966), who contended that the Canadian government "had a margin of time in which to negotiate amicable treaty arrangements . . . which provided for the surrender of most of the fertile belt, [and] retention by the various tribes of reserves in their traditional locality" (p. 336). Treaty 7 completed the surrender of the vast body of land from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains to the Dominion of Canada. Lower (1983) asserted that the goal of the Canadian government—extinguishment of Aboriginal land title—prepared the way for both western settlement and railway construction with almost no confrontations between the Canadian government, settlers, and Aboriginal people (p. 116).

Nation to Nation

Yet the treaty-making process was not viewed solely by others as the will and decision of the Canadian government. Miller (1991) stated that the "initiation of the treaty making process was at least as much the work of the Indians resisting Euro-Canadian incursions as it was the prescient preparations of the government" (p. 161) and cited the example of Aboriginal people interfering with the work of the Geological Survey to construction a telegraph line in 1875 through First Nation territory. Such actions, Miller argued, put pressure on the government to negotiate a treaty. Similarly, at the Treaty 7 negotiations, Button Chief of the Blood nation was recorded by Morris (1991) as stating "we want to be paid for all the timber that the Police and whites have used since they first came to our country" (p. 270). Cardinal (1970) argued that the treaties were negotiated agreements between nations:

> Our people talked with the government representatives, not as beggars pleading for handouts, but as men with something to offer in return for rights they expected. To our people this was the beginning of a contractual relationship whereby the representatives of the queen would have lasting responsibilities to the Indian people in return for the valuable lands that were ceded to them. (p. 29)

Nevertheless, Cardinal stated that the treaties were

> the way in which the white people legitimized in the eyes of the world their presence in our country. It was an attempt to settle the terms of occupancy on a just basis, legally and morally to extinguish the legitimate claims of our people to title to the land in our country. (p. 29)

Both the First Nations and Canada appointed specific individuals to enter into treaty negotiations on their behalf. Chamberlain (1997) stated that

> the Indians were recognized as separate peoples throughout the Treaty process and although many British and Canadian citizens deemed tribal values to be primitive, they were accustomed to accepting the political authority and cultural differences of people whom they thought inferior. (p. 29)

Venne (1997) observed that the First Nations concluded agreements or made treaties with whoever came into their territory as a part of their political process and that, furthermore, treaty making was an essential aspect of protocol within their jurisdiction. Thus, Venne, argued, entering into treaty negotiations with representatives of the Crown was an acceptable process to First Nations (p. 173). Friesen (1986), in her article "Magnificent Gifts: The Treaties of Canada With the Indians of the Northwest 1869-76," also contended that First Nations made treaties or alliances with other First Nations regarding land usage and areas of influence, as well as entering into agreements with European explorers and with the fur companies (p. 43). Friesen suggested that the concept of reciprocity was of fundamental importance to First Nation political and legal processes (p. 43). Reciprocity for First Nations has the "character of gift-giving and exchange—exchange which can have magical, social, religious, political, judicial, and moral aspects," and further, Friesen stated, "reciprocity, mutual obligation, governed interpersonal and kinship relations, but is also basic to the Indian approach to the fur trade and . . . to treaty making" (p. 43). Cruikshank (1981) argued further that reciprocity between groups reinforces a "whole series of rights and obligations" (p. 69). Moreover, Friesen suggested that the kinship relationship and obligations of treaty making not only were an integral part of First Nation's being, but that "the Indian treaty, mutual and usually annual reassurances of peace, friendship, and mutual obligation, was a major force in stabilizing relations between strangers" (p. 44). For Friesen this process of treaty making, "the need for reciprocal relations and the search for security through treaty, were . . . the basis of Indian political thought and attitudes in the making of their western treaties" (p. 44).

Alexander Morris, Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories and chief negotiator for Treaties 3-6 compiled the *Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories Including the Negotiations on Which They Were Based,* which was originally published in 1880. He recorded that the Blackfoot Confederacy and the Stoney people had requested a meeting to discuss treaty making between themselves and the British crown. Once the meeting took place, the traditional role of the Chiefs and headmen as representatives of their people in the treaty negotiations was carried out, along with the customary exchange of gifts between the co-signers as evidenced in Venne's (1997) article "Understanding Treaty 6: an Indigenous perspective." The Treaty 7 negotiations followed a similar format. Furthermore, the pipe ceremony in which the Commissioners participated confirmed for the First Nations the intention of the parties to maintain the political agreement (p. 188). Friesen (1986) also detailed the significance of these ceremonies with the Hudson's Bay Company during two to three centuries of fur trading, which involved "pipe-smoking, gift exchange, speeches of mutual reassurance, and feasting, three or four days before trader and Indian examined goods or discussed prices" (p. 44). Thus, Friesen argued, "Trade or exchange was for the Indian a careful diplomatic and political event" in which reciprocity "became the major form of Indian political relations with Europeans" (p. 44).

However, negotiating a settlement did not necessarily dictate that the two parties be of equal status at the negotiations. Morton (1985) suggested, "It is questionable whether the Indians, having no experience of individual land ownership, interpreted the agreements in the same way as the co-signers. In their poverty-stricken condition and under pressure from government, they had, in fact, little choice" (p. 115). Dickason (1996) also stated that the Blackfoot Confederacy had "no alternative" other than to sign the treaty (p. 282). However, Swainson (1985), in his article "Canada Annexes the West:

Colonial Status Confirmed," although recognizing the precarious position of the Blackfoot Confederacy, argued that the once successful and aggressive prairie tribe was still a considerable force but was, however, "highly vulnerable to external forces" (p. 123). The latter factors included the decimated buffalo herds which until the late 1860s were the essential source of food and supplies for the people of the Blackfoot Confederacy, the re-occurring smallpox and measles epidemics which reduced their population, and the threat to their lands by American and Canadian settlers. The Roman Catholic Priest Constantine Scollen (as cited in Morris, 1991), who worked among the people of the Blackfoot Confederacy, wrote that a decade before the meeting at Blackfoot Crossing, the Blackfoot had been "the most opulent Indians in the country," a haughty, numerous people who were in 1877 subjected to a dwindling supply of buffalo and to an "extraordinary extent illicit traffic in intoxicating liquor" (p. 248) by American whiskey traders. Nevertheless, the Blackfoot Confederacy was still a considerable force at this time and collectively the First Nation population was dominate within the region. Lower (1983) estimated the population of the North-West Territories at 40,000 people, of whom 30,000 were Indian, 9,000 Métis, and 1,000 White; whereas Friesen (1987) estimated the population at 25,000 to 30,000 Indians, 10,000 Métis, and 2,000 White. The numbers are similar, and both indicate the strength in numbers of the Aboriginal population in the area.

The numerical strength of the First Nation population was emphasized by Morris (1991) in his account of the meeting at Blackfoot Crossing. He stated that 4,392 Indians gathered to observe the treaty meeting between their leaders and the Queen's representatives, who numbered less than 200 people, including the accompanying North-West Mounted Police. The meeting between the co-signers of Treaty 7 took place from September 17 to September 22, 1877. During this time, Morris informed us that much discussion took place between the two sides, that some of the members of the Blackfoot confederacy were opposed to the terms of agreement, and that Crowfoot, leader of the Moccasin Band of the Siksika Nation, asked for clarification of the terms via an interpreter. Morris wrote that "after five days of tedious negotiations" the treaty was satisfactorily concluded (p. 250).

In *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, the Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council (1996) emphasized that the precariousness of their ancestors' situation was due to the way the Canadian government officials approached the meeting at Blackfoot Crossing rather than external factors, for the representatives of Her Majesty's government, they maintained,

> did not approach the treaty process as equals negotiating with equals but rather as superior with inferiors. This was a major disadvantage for the Aboriginal leadership, who came to negotiate Treaty 7 in good faith. The attitude of the Canadian treaty makers was paternalistic and condescending—they would do what they thought was best for the Aboriginal peoples, even to the extent of ignoring what the aboriginal leaders clearly wanted to include in the treaty. (p. 197)

Thus, the Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council stated, "The problem with the treaties was that ideologically and culturally the treaty makers for the Crown did not respect the Aboriginal leadership and what it represented" (p. 197). Cardinal (1970) was more prosaic when he stated, "The truth of the matter is that Canadian Indians simply got swindled through the treaty process" (p. 39).

Symbols of Power

Yet despite Cardinal's (1970) belief that "our treaty rights represent[ed] a sacred, honourable agreement between ourselves and the Canadian government" (p. 28), Treaty 7 was a two-party agreement in which one of the partners, the Canadian government, not only believed that its culture and political and social tenets were superior to those of the people with whom they were negotiating, but they were also supported by the military power of the North-West Mounted Police. Furthermore, the missionary zeal of the various Euro-Canadian Christian spiritual leaders who ministered to the individual First Nations within Treaty 7 advised of the benefits of signing the Treaty (Tobias, 1985).

The official Canadian government representatives or Treaty Commissioners were David Laird, Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories and past Minister of the Interior, the Department which was responsible for the enactment of the Indian Act in 1876; and Lieutenant Colonel James Farquharson Macleod, who was both an appointed Treaty Commissioner and Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police and had led the police force in their efforts to stop the American whiskey traders from entering

Blackfoot territory. These two individuals were supported by the Roman Catholic priest, Constantine Scollen, who worked among the Blackfoot and Blood nations; and the Methodist missionary, the Reverend John McDougall, who ministered to the Stoneys. Morris (1991) stated that both the Mounted Police and the missionaries were influential among the Blackfoot Confederacy and that the Canadian government had gained significant information regarding the Blackfoot and the Stoneys from these two sources.

The North-West Mounted Police Act was past by Parliament in May 1873, and shortly thereafter 275 men travelled west to Winnipeg, where they were outfitted in red jackets symbolic of British invading armies, and in the spring of 1874 trekked across the prairies and established their headquarters in what would become known as Fort Macleod (Palmer & Palmer, 1990, pp. 36-37). The Mounted Police headquarters would remain in Blackfoot Confederacy territory until 1878, when the headquarters were moved east to Fort Walsh. Macleod (1985), in "Canadianizing the West: The North West Mounted Police as Agents of National Policy, 1873-1905," stated that the "primary task of the new force was to effectively occupy the West for Canada until the growth of population established Canadian ownership beyond any doubt. This meant avoiding by whatever means possible, conflicts between white settlers and native peoples" (p. 189). In *The Prairie West Historical Readings*, the editors Francis and Palmer (1985) stated, "One of the Mounties' most important initial roles would be . . . encouraging Indian tribes to sign treaties with the Canadian government" (p. 284).

Chief Crowfoot was considered by both Laird and Macleod to be very influential within the Blackfoot confederacy, and certainly Morris (1991) believed that Crowfoot trusted the Mounties and appreciated their efforts to curtail the American whiskey traders. Camoose Bottle, a Blood elder who was interviewed in 1973, stated, "The police first came to Fort Macleod. These things my father told me. This is when the red coats first came to Fort Macleod to stop the drinking" (Price, 1980, p. 130). The role of the North-West Mounted Police in helping to eliminate the whiskey trade was certainly appreciated by Crowfoot and the Blackfoot confederacy, as reflected in Dempsey's (1972) research. He wrote, "The tribes had little comprehension of what they were signing but they did so because of their trust in the Mounted Police as representatives of the Queen" (Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, 1996, p. 290). Crowfoot, Morris wrote, was the first to sign the treaty, and his concurrence with the treaty proposal influenced the other chiefs and headmen to sign. Treaty Commissioner David Laird observed, "The Indians have confidence in the Police, and it might be some time before they would acquire the same respect for strangers" (Morris, 1991, p. 262).

Canadian Indian Policy

Tobias (1985) placed the numbered treaties within the context of the Canadian government's Indian policy which was developed during the late 1860s and into the mid-1870s and stated that the Canadian government systematically exerted control over First Nations by extending its "authority over the Plains Indian through the treaty process" (p. 204). Tobias argued that "the Government's determination to make Indians into imitation Europeans and to eradicate the old Indian values through education, religion, new economic and political systems, and a new concept of property" (p. 206) was implemented by means of the treaties. He maintained that prior to Confederation, the primary goal of the British and colonial governments was the "protection of the Indian and his land." However, with the introduction of the Indian Act in 1876, the goal of the Canadian government was to promote assimilation through "the gradual enfranchisement of the Indian" (Tobias, p. 204). Tobias maintained that systematic power of the government over Indians was established with the Indian Act:

> Civilization, the prerequisite for assimilation or enfranchisement, was now to be the paramount goal. This shift is demonstrated by the power the Governor General was given to impose the Euro-Canadian political ideal of elected local government on an Indian Band and to remove from band office those considered unqualified or unfit to hold it. (p. 204)

Thus Treaty 7, Tobias argued, negotiated after the passage in Parliament of the Indian Act, was a continuation of the government's policy of protection, civilization, and assimilation.

Contrasted with Tobias is Creighton (1970), who portrayed the treaty process as simply the Canadian government's desire to develop the prairies as the last step in its national agenda of expansion on a continental scale, a dream of expansion which was accomplished, Creighton maintained, by the extinguishment of Aboriginal title to the land and the imposition of Euro-Canadian political ideology on First Nations. In a similar vein to Creighton, McInnis (1966), in *Canada: A Political and Social History*, contended that

> the gradual advance of settlement [in the west] meant that there was little forcible intrusion on Indian lands, and the government had a margin of time in which to negotiate amicable treaty arrangements. Beginning in 1871, a series of treaties was concluded, which provided for the surrender of most of the fertile belt, the retention by the various tribes of reserves in their traditional locality, the payment of annuities to the Indians, and government assistance in education and agriculture. It was a process the object of which was to prepare the Indians for the transition from a hunting to a farming mode of life. (p. 336)

Education

Cardinal (1970) stated, "On the question of our right to education, the Department of Indian Affairs holds the policy that education is a privilege—not a right. Our treaties expressly say otherwise" (p. 37). He further emphasized the treaty right to education when he maintained, "Education of our people rests" (p. 37) upon the treaties. John Yellowhorn, hereditary chief of the Peigans, commented, when interviewed in 1975, that treaty commissioners said First Nation children would receive an education (Price, 1980). Treaty 7 referred to "education," as do all the numbered treaties negotiated between 1871 and 1877, as one of the services the First Nations would receive as part of the negotiated package. The numbered treaties reinforced Canada's Constitutional obligation to provide "education in its role as custodian of Native people" (Ray, 1996, p. 235). However, there are differences in the education clauses. Treaty 1 stated, "Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school on each reserve hereby made, whenever the Indians of the reserve should desire it" (Morris, 1991, p. 315). Six years later, the Treaty 7 clause contended, "Her Majesty agrees to pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of the said Indians as to her Government of Canada may seem advisable, when said Indians are settled on their reserves and shall desire teachers" (p. 371). Ray (1996) wrote that not only the wording of the education clauses changed, but also the meaning of the education clause; thus the change in the wording relating to education from Treaty 1 to Treaty 7 gave the government the right to decide when to comply with Indian requests for education rather than leave it up to the decision of the First Nation; and second, that rather than providing a school, the wording of Treaty 7 requires only the government to pay the teachers' salary

(Ray, 1996). Furthermore, Ray argued that the difference in the education clauses signalled a "movement away from the policy of granting Native people a say in deciding when instruction should begin, . . . and the government retained complete discretion in the matter" of education (p. 236). Canada used the Indian Act to maintain control of schooling on reserve and to set its policy relating to all First Nation educational matters. Furthermore, Ray argued that

> concerned with running a frugal operation, a succession of deputy superintendent-generals of Indian Affairs sought to provide schooling as cheaply as possible. The easiest way to do this was by using schools for Native children operated by the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches. (Ray, 1996, p. 236)

John Yellowhorn, in his 1975 interview, stated that "the Indian people did not understand all these [promises] but this is what they heard from the interpreter" (Price, 1980, p. 141). Did the First Nation leaders at Blackfoot Crossing understand the meaning of the education clause, or was there confusion as Yellowhorn suggested? Annie Buffalo, interviewed in 1975, explained one reason for some of the confusion: "The Indians were not familiar with writing. That was the white man's form. The white man had been writing for a long time before we knew how to write" (p. 137). However, Fred Gladstone suggested that it was precisely because they recognized that their old way of life was no longer viable that the Bloods looked for an alternative in 1877. When interviewed in 1975, he stated that his ancestors "were promised many things to improve their way of life, since the original livelihood was taken away from them" (Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, 1996, p. 120). It was thus to enable The People to make the transition to a new way of life, that education was the vision for survival in the future (p. 211). Venne (1997) offered a similar theme regarding Treaty 6 and stated, "The Chiefs and Elders wanted their young people to be able to cope with the newcomers, and believed the most successful way would be for the children to understand their ways" (p. 194).

David Laird, when he addressed the Chiefs and headmen at the Blackfoot Crossing meeting, referred to the new way of life for the First Nations, if they would settle on reserves. He stated to the gathering, "Teachers will be sent to instruct your children to read books like this one [the Governor referred to the Bible], which is impossible so long as you continue to move from place to place" (Morris, 1991, p. 269).

Morton (1985) suggested that "modern civilization" came to the plains and parkland in the 1870s in the form of Ontario settlers, for before that time the prairies had remained "at most neo-archaic. They remained, for modern civilization, a virgin tabula rasa, a blank sheet with no writing, an unmarked parchment, unscraped, unoiled, unprepared" (p. 20). However, Carr (1968) wrote there is danger in viewing the educative past as residing within the narrow concept of formal instruction or schooling; rather, Indian education should be viewed not only as pedagogy but also as a part of the entire process by which a culture transmits itself across generations. Thus Blackfoot education not only prepared one for group membership and preparation for specialized roles in Blackfoot society, but also transmitted traditions, beliefs, ideals, aspirations, and skills. Russell Wright, when interviewed by Meili (1991) for her book entitled *Those Who Know: Profiles of Alberta's Native Elders,* stated:

> Blackfoot education is based on the sacred four and the circle. Four signifies the number of parts in many significant wholes—four seasons, four directions, four human growth phases, four decision-making steps. And these great steps or changes form a circular chain, always coming back to a point and circling again. . . . A basic tenet of traditional life was, there is oneness in the world the Creator has given humans and it is important that they understand the circle of life. Life was considered a circle of continual learning and re-learning as the Blackfoot understood the human tendency to forget important principles. Within the tribe, every adult and elder was socially required to teach and re-teach young people. . . . The emphasis was on human worthiness. . . . Our ancestors were so strong. They were strong in the community sense, and they stayed together as a wholistic [sic] society. Tribal government systems were based on self-rule through consensus, and that meant that everybody understood what was required of them. Of course there were no written laws. They were orally transmitted, and everybody had to learn them and abide by them. (p. 50)

Francis and Smith (1986) stated that there was

> no formal education as such, but education was interwoven into the life of the tribal society. A very important responsibility of the tribal members was to pass on valuable information to the next generation by the spoken word. Parents, grandparents, and elders told and retold stories and legends to the children by the campfires, in the teepees, on the hillsides, in the forest, and at special gatherings during the day and night. It was an ongoing educational process about religion, life, hunting, and so on. Other topics were bravery, courage, kindness, sharing, survival, and foot tracks of animals, so it was a very extensive study of many things. (p. 49)

Cardinal (1970) stated that education fitted the Aboriginal child to his society, for the Indian method, entirely pragmatic, was designed to prepare the child for whatever way of life he was to lead—an education and a way of life which, Jenness (1996) stated, compelled every adult to take an active interest in each child, whether their own or another's; and from their earliest years, the children felt the full pressure of public opinion. Education was, Jenness maintained, a two-pronged curriculum, one secular, the other ethical and religious. The former was ongoing "instruction given at no set hours in the various tasks that the children would have to perform in later years; the other the elders would narrate traditions or folk-tales of the distant past often around camp fires" (p. 152).

What did The People understand the intent of the education clause to mean? The Treaty 7 people, through contact and discussions with other First Nation people such as the Crees who signed Treaty 6 in 1876 and with priests and missionaries such as Father Scollen and John McDougall, were aware of the earlier treaty negotiations and the Crown's commitment to education. At the Treaty 7 negotiations, Treaty Commissioner David Laird stated "the Queen wishes to offer you the same as was accepted by the Crees" (Morris, 1991, p. 268. Furthermore, Laird stated "the Great Mother loves all her children, white and red man alike; she wishes to do them all good" (p. 267). Wishes which included, for the Treaty 7 people, "the means of living when the buffalo are no more" (p. 268). A new way of living which incorporated "teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to her Government of Canada may seem advisable, when said Indians are settled on their reserve and shall desire teachers" (p. 371). Education was associated with the future, employment, prosperity, and a lifestyle like the "whites" (p. 268). Education was a preparation for the future. Chief Crowfoot was recorded as referring to Treaty 7 as an agreement for "the future," for The Peoples' "good" (p. 272). Thus the treaty promises were for the "welfare" of The People and every promise, the Treaty Commissioner stated "will be solemnly fulfilled as certainly as the sun now shines down upon us from the heavens" (p. 275).

Price (1980) suggested that the elders who were interviewed believed that education was to help the Indians speak English and also to provide the First Nation people with opportunities for a new way of life. However, Tobias (1985) argued that education was the mechanism for the "government's determination to make the Indians into imitation Europeans and to eradicate the old Indian values" (p. 205). This sentiment was raised in the Indian Affairs 1876 *Annual Report* to Parliament, which stated that education was viewed "as the primary vehicle in the civilization and advancement of the Indian race" (as cited in Barman, Hebert, & McCaskill, 1986, p. 5). Advancement, Tobias argued, meant assimilation, for as soon as "an Indian . . . went to university and earned a professional degree as minister, lawyer, teacher, or doctor," he/she was enfranchised, for "by earning such degrees the Indian demonstrated his acceptance of Euro-Canadian values, and his ability to function in Canadian society" (p. 205). Yet enfranchisement due to educational attainment was rare; rather, the sentiments expressed by Mike Mountain Horse (1979) in *My people, the Bloods*, which he wrote in the 1930s, were more common:

> I sometimes wonder how long it will be before your so called civilization extinguishes my people from the face of the earth. I am . . . speaking of those aspects of civilization [such as] chicanery, drunkenness, greed and deception which made their appearance in conjunction with the finer phases of the white man's code. (p. 103)

The treaty promise of "instruction" had developed, Miller (1989) suggested, in a chaotic approach with rudimentary efforts by

> ill-trained and worse paid missionaries who had far too many other duties to worry unduly about the abysmal attendance and poor academic showing of their students; . . . a hodgepodge of schools, . . . which the government sometimes made small grants that paid much of the teachers' stipends; and less frequently . . . rarely contributed anything" [by the end of the nineteenth century]. (p. 175)

In 1970 the Indian Chiefs of Alberta, in their presentation entitled *Citizens Plus* to the Right Honorable Pierre Elliot Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, wrote that their people, as an entity, had the least education of any group in Canada, and they asked the Prime Minister to keep "in mind that it was only following the Second World War that the education of the Indian people was given any serious thought" (as cited in Indian Chiefs of Alberta, 1970, p. 77). McPherson (1997) argued further that "education, to date, has failed Indian people [and that] shortfalls in education provided to Indian people [were] brought about by constitutionally sanctioned discrimination under s.91(24) of the Constitution Act, 1867, and made operant by the Indian Act, 1876" (p. 2).

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

Glesne and Peshkin (1992) stated that "people tend to adhere to the methodology that is most consonant with their socialized worldview, . . . and we are attracted to and shape research problems that match our personal view of seeing and understanding the world" (p. 9). Kluczny (1998) furthered this argument when he commented that "one tends to approach problems and puzzles for research, based on the mode of inquiry that best suits one's personal ontology and epistemology. Hence our beliefs, values, personality, orientations, socialization experiences, and attendant world views, all influence" (p. 30) how we ask questions and go about answering them. Within the qualitative framework of Glesne and Peskhin, the research methodology for this study "begins from the point of view that inquiry is a matter of the perception of qualities and an appraisal of their value (Schwandt, 1997, p. 130). The research methodology focuses on the human or social action within the historical setting of the numbered treaties to ascertain the "purposive, intentional, goal-directed act" and to understand the subjective meaning or "shared meaning, values, understanding and so on that interpenetrate" thought and action of the signing of Treaty 7 (p. 65). Second, interviewing methodology was utilized to gather the oral history of the people of Treaty 7, so that an interdisciplinary approach of both the written document and the recorded oral history enabled the researcher to construct the "histories" of the signing of Treaty 7.

"Doing History": The Discourse of the "Histories" of the Past

Treaty 7 was signed a century ago, and Jenkins (1991) argued that in order to gain a new understanding of what history is, one must abandon the search for objective truth about the past and come to terms with the processes of the production of history. He suggested further that in order to make sense of the past, we should not only be in charge of our own discourse, but also "stop thinking of history as though it were a simple and rather obvious thing and recognize that there is a multiplicity of types of history whose only common feature is that their ostensible object of enquiry is the past" (p. 3). Accordingly, Jenkins suggested that the past and history are different things—"History is one of a series of discourses about the world"—and that these discourses or histories "are read differently by different discursive practices" as well as differently over time and space (p. 5). Similarly, Carr (1961) stated in his George Macaulay Trevelyan lectures entitled *What Is History?* that "our view of history reflects our view of society" and as such, historical truth is "a balance between fact and interpretation, between fact and value" (pp. 175-176). Jenkins further clarified Carr's lecture in his argument that history is what is written/recorded about the past as distinguished from the past itself. Furthermore, he stated:

> the past has occurred. It has gone and can only be brought back again by historians in very different media, for example in books, articles, documentaries, etc., not as actual events. The past has gone and history is what historians make of it. (p. 6)

"History remains inevitably a personal construct, a manifestation of the historian's perspective as a 'narrator,'" Jenkins (1991) suggested, and the "historian's viewpoint and predilections still shape the choice of historical materials, and our own personal constructs determine what we make of them. The past that we 'know' is always contingent upon our own views, our own 'present'" (p. 12). The discourse of history, therefore, Jenkins suggested, is "whose history?" rather than "what is history?" (p. 18). History is the way people create, in part, their identities, and Jenkins (1991) observed that there is no

> true or factual history for history is composed of epistemology, methodology and ideology. . . . We can never really know the past, that the gap between the past and history is an ontological one. . . . There is no definitive history, . . . and [temporary] consensus [can] only be reached when dominant voices can silence others either by overt power or covert incorporation. In the end history is theory and theory is ideological and ideology is just material interests. (p. 9)

Jenkins (1991) argued the idea of history as discourse; Michel Foucault furthered the study of discourse. Foucault (1982; as cited in Hekman, 1992) focussed on language in his articulation of a theory of discourse. He argued that discourse creates not only objects, but also subjects, and that "knowledge and power are fused in the practices that comprise history and that discourses partake of power, not knowledge alone" (p. 18). Foucault, in *Space, Knowledge, and Power*, argued that discursive information produces and deploys power; and because power and knowledge are linked, social institutions further solidify the discourse. Foucault (as cited in Rabinow, 1984) used historical analysis to criticize the present, for although there is always history, Foucault suggested, "History protects us from historicism—from a historicism that calls on the past to resolve the questions of the present" (p. 250).

In the *Order of Things*, Foucault (as cited in Rabinow, 1984) argued that spatial metaphors describe institutional spaces, for "space is fundamental in any form of communal life" (p. 252) and in the exercise of power. He illustrated his argument with the following: "There is the model of the military camp, where the military hierarchy is to be read in the ground itself, by the place occupied by the tents and the buildings reserved for each rank. It reproduces precisely through architecture a pyramid of power" (p. 255). Thus for Foucault it was not a matter of "locating everything on one level, that of the event, but of realizing that there is actually a whole order of levels of different types of events, differing in amplitude, chronological breadth, and capacity to produce effects" (p. 56). The problem, Foucault suggested "is to distinguish among events, to differentiate the networks and levels to which they belong, and engender one another" (p. 56).

Foucault (as cited in Rabinow, 1984, p. 57) clarified the question of who discourse serves by asking, Who does power serve, and in what way is it exercised? He argued that although power was exercised "concretely and in detail—with its specificity, its techniques and tactics," one must go beyond to analyse power in areas that had "hitherto remained outside the field of political analysis; . . . had a limited importance if one is only looking for their economic significance" (p. 58). Foucault stated further, "One has to dispense with the constituent subject, to get rid of the subject itself, that is to say, to arrive at an analysis which can account for the constitution of the subject within a historical framework" (p. 59).

History serves power, and the economy of power allows the "effects of power to circulate in a manner at once continuous, uninterrupted, adapted, and individualized" (Foucault; as cited in Rabinow, 1984, p. 59). The network of power, Foucault suggested, is an all-encompassing web, which even in peacetime power is simply a form of warlike domination (p. 65). It is important, when looking at an event of history, Foucault maintained, that one realize that power and truth are intertwined and that each society has its regime of truth, its "general politics" of truth; that is types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true (p. 73). For Foucault, power or truth is produced and transmitted exclusively by the dominant political and economic apparatuses such as the army, writings, and the media (p. 73). He maintained that truth is "linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extends it. A 'regime' of truth" (p. 74). The net worth of power for Foucault established a characteristic or ideology of European thought of the 17th century onward within the North American continent. The system of power established the dominance of Euro-Canadian culture over the culture of the indigenous cultural minorities. It emphasized the disenfranchisement of Aboriginal peoples from power and is particularly evident in the culture-specific construct of Europeans which has characterized the history of Europeans and Aboriginal people in Canada.

Foucault (as cited in Gutting, 1994) suggested, however, that we can free ourselves for new possibilities and move past the prevailing norms of society if we realize that power and knowledge is a relationship rather than a thing possessed (p. 113). He argued further that in order to liberate ourselves from our cultural conceptions and ideas, we need to look at the characteristic of conceiving and explaining reality, for culture is a linguistic, perceptual, and practical code that orders human experience (p. 76). It is the cultural code or specifically linguistic structuralism that Kent (1986) suggested in his article *Michel Foucault: Doing History, or Undoing It?* was the central theme of Foucault (p. 371). Kent maintained that it was Foucault's desire to defamiliarize the past, in order to "force his readers to confront its essential strangeness, its difference" and subsequently gain an understanding of its own cultural codes (p. 372). Kent suggested that Anglo-American historiography "holds somewhat naïvely to the myth that it is possible to use language as an entirely transparent medium, capable of transmitting meaning without distortion, like clear glass" (p. 379)—a myth which is difficult to dissipate because, as Foucault stated in his *Histoire de la folie*, "to interrogate a culture about its limit-experiences, is to question it at the borders of history about that tearing which is like the very birth of its history" (p. 378).

The Discourse of Culture and Power

In *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*, Swartz (1997) focussed on Bourdieu's discussion of discourse and domination/power, which Bourdieu believed "stands at the heart of all social life" (p. 6). Swartz suggested that Bourdieu offers a "genetic theory of groups to explain how groups create and maintain unity and thereby perpetuate or improve their position in the social order" (p. 7). Bourdieu

> conceptualizes culture as a form of capital with specific laws of accumulation, exchange and exercise. The exercise of power, he argues, requires legitimation, so he also proposes a theory of symbolic violence and capital that stresses the active role that symbolic forms play as resources that both constitute and maintain power structures (p. 8)

Bourdieu identified "cultural resources, processes, and institutions which lock individuals and groups into reproducing patterns of domination" and argued that "all action is interested" and that all cultural reproduction "is reward oriented" (p. 67). Furthermore, Bourdieu stated that

> action is not a mechanical response to external determining structures, whether they be economic, political, social, or even cultural. Habits, traditions, customs, beliefs—the cultural and social legacy of the past—filter and shape individual and collective responses to the present and future. (p. 69)

Bourdieu suggested that "historical construction can be known only through historical analysis, ex post, through empirical observation, and not deduced a priori from some fictitious—and so naively Eurocentric—conception of 'Man'" (p. 71).

Thus from a sociological perspective, Bourdieu (as cited in Swartz, 1997) saw material, cultural, social, and symbolic power as capital, and saw each as a function of social power (p. 73). His concept of "cultural capital covers a wide variety of resources including such things as verbal facility, general cultural awareness, aesthetic preferences, information [and thus] . . . culture [in the broadest sense of the term] can become a power resource" (p. 75).

The Discourse of the Past

Gross (1992), in *The Past in Ruins*, acknowledged that we cannot go back to an earlier time once it is transcended; however, without the thread of tradition—values, beliefs, and conduct guidelines—a community loses its touch with its very essence of being (p. 3). In order to prevent nihilism, a community needs to find a balance between what is valuable and what is valueless, to preserve or restore, and ultimately to find a balance and bring tradition forward (p. 4). Gross suggested that people come together for a collective need to survive culturally, emotionally, and physically, but within an evolving community. He argued that tradition for Anglo-American culture, after the 17th century, began to be associated with piety and awareness rather than a totality of everyday life, and, consequently, tradition began to have a limited influence on the present. From this time forward, Gross maintained, the Judeo-Christian community promulgated a new beginning. The Industrial Revolution was a signal of modernity for the Europeans, and they continued to foster the idea of a new beginning as 30 million people left Europe to start life anew in North America (p. 39). Europeans began to cultivate their "self" within a new image, and it was this new beginning and the belief of Christians in the Revelation which Gossman (1990), in *Between History and Literature*, argued led many to believe that "it was inadmissible that a pagan people ignorant of Revelation could be thought of as living a serenely contented life" (p. 279).

Gadamer (1998), in *Truth and Method*, argued that culture is the "properly human way of developing one's natural talents and capacities," that the self "can be formed without breaking with or repudiating one's past, and that this formation cannot be achieved by any merely technical or methodical means" (p. xii). He wrote that history and tradition form the basis "in our actual lives for the specifically hermeneutic way we are related to other persons and to our cultural past, namely, dialogue" and that "experience is not the residue of isolated moments, but an ongoing integrative process in which what we encounter broadens our perspective" (p. xiii). Gadamer suggested that human experience is an interpretation of an action based on traditional/cultural/ experience relationships, all of which are affected and effected by history (p. xv).

Gadamer's (1998) concern was with the "phenomenon of understanding and of the correct interpretation of what has been understood" (p. xxi). His thesis is that "effective history affects all understanding of tradition" and that language is the form in which understanding is achieved (p. xxxiv). For Gadamer, language "is more than a subjective art, it is more than the consciousness of the speaker: so also it is more than a subjective act. . . . [It is the] . . . experience of the subject" (p. xxxvi). Thus for Gadamer interpretation is human experience, and therefore knowledge is conditional; he thus asks what is knowledge? what is history? whose interpretation? He suggested that language is more than the consciousness of the speaker, for "to understand means to come to an understanding with each other" (p. 180) of the subject matter and that furthermore, "if two people understand each other independently of any topic, then this means that they understand each other not only in this or that respect, but in all the essential things that unite human beings" (p. 180).

Gadamer (1998) argued that misunderstanding occurs when, "in the endeavour to understand the content of what is said, the reflective question arises: how did he come to such an opinion?" which implies for Gadamer, a lack of shared meaning (p. 181), because "interpretation and understanding are closely interwoven, like the outer and the inner word, and every problem of interpretations is, in fact, a problem of understanding" (p. 184). Supporting Schleierrmacher's idea of universal hermeneutics, Gadamer stated that

> the possibility of misunderstanding is universal. It is true that this alienation is greater, and misunderstanding easier, in artistic than in non-artistic utterance, and it is greater with written than with oral utterance, which is as it were, continuously interpreted by the living voice (p. 179)

The goal for Gadamer is mutual understanding, for such is agreement; however, he reminded us that "since men cannot be aware of everything, their words, speech and writing can mean something that they themselves did not intend to say or write" (p. 186). Nevertheless, Gadamer argued further that in understanding discourse, not only the exact words and their objective meaning needs to be understood, but also the individuality of the speaker or author; the totality of the experience needs to be understood (p. 186). Gadamer's argument applies to historical interpretation, for it too must be situated within the context of a range of events which condition each other. Power is, for Gadamer, the central category of the historical worldview; he argued that

> all power exists only in its expression. Expression is not only the manifestation of power but its reality. . . . Power is more than its expression. It possesses potentiality also. . . . It cannot be known or measured in terms of its expressions, but only experienced as an indwelling, . . . because power, of its nature, is related to itself alone. (p. 205)

This role of power is also the focus of Gossman (1990) in *Between History and Literature* when he stated, "The whole of written history reflects the power that commanded it" (p. 90).

The Discourse of Oral History

Oral history illuminates subtle meaning and enriches our understanding of the past and challenges us to "unite culturally grounded histories that can help us learn from the past (p. 404). Dunaway and Baum (1996) stated that cultural bias can be addressed by oral history as a means to collect otherwise unwritten recollections and to "empower . . . the historically disenfranchised" (p. 8), not only to capture important accounts of their history, but also to give voice to their history within the larger community. They argued that oral history not only "creates a sense of community, cohesion and continuity across generations but shows that the dispossessed have a history and that history is worth documenting" (p. 12). Starr (1996) echoed this theme: "Oral history is primary source material by recording the spoken words of persons hitherto unavailable or considered not worth recording" (p. 40). Okihiro (1996) suggested that oral history is a tool or method for recovering history (p. 209), whereas Cruikshank (1981) maintained that oral history is a distinct intellectual tradition (p. 67). Anthropologist Riddington (as cited in Cruikshank, 1981), maintained that oral tradition is a critical adaptive strategy whereby individuals utilize their "conceptual ability to recreate, through language, a situation for someone who has not experienced it directly," and it is "an highly adaptive technology carried in the mind rather than in the hand, and coded in tradition rather than in heavy material encumbrance" (p. 72). However, when the Gitskan and Wet'suwet'en people presented their land claim to the British Columbia Supreme Court in 1991 and utilized oral history as a medium to argue their claim to land title, Chief Justice Allan McEachern (as cited in

Pape & Salter, 1998) stated, "I am unable to accept *adaawk* [sacred oral tradition], *kungax* [spiritual song and dance] and oral tradition as reliable bases for detailed history" (p. 3); however, this ruling was overturned by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1997, which stated:

> Notwithstanding the challenges created by the use of oral histories as proof of historical facts, the laws of evidence must be adapted in order that this type of evidence can be accommodated and placed on an equal footing with the types of historical evidence that courts are familiar with, which largely consists of documentary evidence. (p. 3)

Oral history thus provides a "gateway" to the rich cultural resources outside that of the dominant society and provides information essential to the totality of the historical record; in so doing, it corrects an imbalance in historical records which favoured the formally educated over those whose culture has not left written records (Dunaway & Baum, 1996, p. 11).

Hoffman (1996) raised the issue of discourse and the 'views of history' and stated that "all documents written or oral require scrutiny before use as historical records" (p. 87). She suggested that oral history may be defined as a process of "collecting usually by means of a tape recorded interview, reminiscences, accounts, and interpretations of events from the recent past which are of historical significance" (p. 88). Oral history is thus a method of preserving the past, a method which has been found to be particularly valuable where "there is a paucity of archival or written documents" (p. 89). Addressing the challenge to scholars of the reliability and validity of oral history interviews, Hoffman suggested that

> reliability can be defined as the consistency with which an individual will tell the same story about the same events on a number of different occasions. Validity refers to the degree of conformity between the reports of the event and the event itself as recorded by other primary resource material such as documents, photographs, diaries, and letters. (p. 89)

Claude Levi - Strauss (as cited in Cruikshank, 1994) moved forward from the issue of whether oral history is about the past and present and suggested that oral history is "essentially statements about the human mind [which] show the capacity of humans to think symbolically about complex problems [and] to resolve symbolically those issues that cannot necessarily be worked out in the sphere of human activity" (p. 406). In this context oral history not only unifies a populace but enables it to anchor the present in the past (pp. 407-408). Luther Standing Bear (as cited in *First Nations-Firsthand*, 1997) stated, "Our annals . . . were stored in our song and dance rituals, and our history . . . was not stored in books, but in living memory" (p. 129). Dempsey (1978) expanded further on oral history when he observed,

> When the old ones tell a story, it is presented just as if they had been there. Over the years, comparative studies have indicated that verbatim reports of conversations have been passed from one generation to the next with a high degree of accuracy. (p. viii)

Rosaldo (1980), in *Doing Oral History*, argued that "oral testimonies are meant to be heard in the particular context in which they are told, . . . [for] . . . what people say is intimately involved in how they say it; . . . meanings emerge" (p. 92). It was not the differences between oral and written history that Binney (as cited in Cruikshank, 1994) focused on but rather the similarities, for both are "structured, interpretive, combative, and subjective as well as objective" for "history is the shaping of the past by those who live in the present" (p. 410). Ultimately, Cruikshank suggested, "while the details, participants, and symbols in an oral account may change, its purpose, like that of written history, is to allow people to interpret the past and present in new ways" (p. 410).

Semistructured interviews were conducted with Treaty 7 members who were steeped in the oral history of their First Nation and who were willing to participate in this research study relating to the oral history pertaining to the signing of Treaty 7, and specifically to the "education" clause in the Treaty. Individuals were asked to participate in this research and interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed. Subsequent meetings were arranged with the individuals to discuss the written document for further input and/or clarification. The transcribed tapes were analysed in order to establish similarities and differences in the information recorded. The tapes and transcribed documents will be returned to the interviewees following completion of this dissertation. Recorded oral history obtained for previous research and housed in the Glenbow Museum was accessed in order to research previous recorded history relating to treaty entitlement to education, as well as the relationship of these documents to the interviews conducted specifically for this research endeavour.

Trustworthiness

Connelly and Clandinin's (1990) statement, "What is at stake is less a matter of working theories and ideologies and more a question of the place of research in the improvement of practice and how researchers and practitioners may productively relate to one another" (p. 12) is appropriate for this research project. Furthermore, not only is the statement reflective of the trustworthiness essential in working in an area of a sensitive educational concern of Treaty 7 people, but also education as a treaty right is the very essence of their belief in themselves and in their collective rights.

Trust or "fidelity" is an essential criterion in conducting interviews as well as the "ethic of caring" and responsibility. Noddings (1986) maintained that one must "promote individual growth and maintain the caring community" when conducting interviews (p. 12). From a broader perspective, Peck (1993) stated that research called for values, responsible citizenship and, "civility, . . . those values encouraging interest and involvement in large social issues, . . . values necessary to maintain the health of democracy" (p. 4). I believe that over the years I have established an open relationship with members of Treaty 7, which enabled me to conduct this research and gather the oral history relating to education as treaty right within Treaty 7. The writer believes that equality of educational services and opportunities are essential in order for First Nation people to participate in the democratic and economic opportunities espoused by Canada.

Limitations

Several limitations are inherent within this study. The study is concerned with the historical events relating to the meaning and intent of Treaty 7, and specifically to the education article. Meaning was extracted from historical documents and from stories and personal memoirs recorded in the mid-Victorian culture of Canada in the latter part of the 19th century, and from the oral history of the First Nation people of Treaty 7 recorded in 2000 and earlier. Therefore, the study is limited not only by the understanding of the event by the two cultural groups, but also by the researcher's ability to comprehend and compare the understandings of the two cultural groups a century later. Furthermore, although Western documentary history and First Nation oral history at times support each other from an epistemological viewpoint, the two processes can in themselves be limitations, for "indigenous people who grow up immersed in oral tradition frequently suggest that their narratives are better understood by absorbing the successive personal messages revealed to listeners in repeated tellings," whereas a "scholarly approach . . . encourages close scrutiny of texts" (Cruikshank, 1994, p. 403); nevertheless both methods together may enrich understanding rather than support conflicting interpretations of history. Also the writer's non-Aboriginal background limits her ability to fully understand the Treaty 7 perspective and linguistic subtleties of the issues relating to this study. Because the interviews were conducted or translated into English, it is acknowledged that certain ideas or thoughts cannot be translated from one language to another. The researcher believes, however, that her own educational and work experience and her sensitivity to the issues of First Nation education and culture enabled her to conduct this research effectively, being cognizant of the issues and limitations of trying to articulate concepts embedded in differing cultural frames.

Both the Treaty Commissioners and the Chiefs and Headmen of the First Nations gathered at Blackfoot Crossing were limited by an inability to fully comprehend each other's language. The Treaty Commissioners conducted the negotiations in English; the First Nations spoke in Beaver, Blackfoot, and Stoney; and interpreters were commissioned to translate the proceedings. The Treaty 7 document was prepared in English by the Treaty Commissioners and their staff, and the other documents relating to the meeting at Blackfoot Crossing were also written in English by members of the Commissioners' entourage. Thus the written record of the negotiations and the related documents must be seen as essentially representing the view of Her Majesty's representatives and not necessarily those of the Treaty 7 people.

This study is also limited by the ability of those interviewed to recall the oral history, passed from one generation to the next, of their respective First Nation and that of the collectivity of Treaty 7. Furthermore, the oral history in this study is limited by the number of individuals interviewed and the data gathered from them during the set time frame. Limitations are also inherent in the process of interviewing individuals a century after the signing of Treaty 7 regarding the intent of the agreement at Blackfoot Crossing, what they understood that their ancestors were committing their people to, and what they would receive in return for their signatures affixed to Treaty 7.

Delimitations

This study relates only to Treaty 7, signed at Blackfoot Crossing on September 22, 1877. Although similarities between Treaty 7 and other numbered treaties can be drawn, this research relates specifically to one treaty. The research is confined to the issue of education, within the geographical boundaries in which Treaty 7 applies, and relates directly to education as a treaty right and educational services provided to Treaty 7 people.

The oral history presented in this study is limited by the number of individuals interviewed and the data gathered from them during the set time frame.

Ethics

Upon requesting interviews with individuals, I explained the purpose of my research and the significant part that they would play in the study. Confidentiality in the research was guaranteed and an assurance given that their name and specific identity, other than their First Nation affiliation, would not be used in this study. A consent form was provided to each participant to sign, with the understanding that the consent form did not bind them to participate if they decided to withdraw from the process at any time.

CHAPTER IV

COLONIAL EDUCATION: TO EACH HIS OWN

Slightly more than 100 years after the signing of Treaty 7 in 1877, the individual member nations of Treaty 7 negotiated with the federal Department of Indian Affairs to regain, in part, the responsibility for the education of their people. Between 1986 and 1989 each of the five nations became responsible for the administration of the elementary and secondary schools on their reserves. In doing so they sought assurances from the Minister of Indian Affairs that this action would not impinge upon their treaty right to education. This step, to assume control of the educational administration of the schools on their reserves, was based on a number of factors: a desire to exert control over their own educational destiny, including the hiring of teachers and the school curriculum; dismal educational attainment levels of many of their members; and the desire to seek a better future for their people—a future in which they could compete academically and economically with other Canadians. Statistics revealed that First Nation people living on reserve as well as Aboriginal Canadians in general, in comparison to other Canadians, were distinguished by their low educational attainment levels, poor standard of living, high suicide rates, and lower life expectancy rates (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996a, p. 2). Education attainment levels and economic achievement, therefore, separated First Nation communities from mainstream Canadian society. The Indian Affairs schools on reserve stood as a reminder both of the lack of academic achievement and of community input into educational programming in the on-reserve schools.

In 1970 the Indian Chiefs of Alberta rejected the federal government's White Paper and its proposed integration and assimilation of First Nation education into the provincial system. They responded with *Citizens Plus*, an outline of First Nation education and the demand for recognition of their treaty right to education. Subsequently, the Treaty 7 people were instrumental in the preparation of the National Indian Brotherhood's *Local Control of Indian Education* and demanded in *Citizens Plus* their treaty right to education. In assuming control over their schools in the 1980s, the people of Treaty 7 were in part gaining control of the education opportunities promised to them at the signing of the treaties. The signatories of Treaty 7, little other Treaty nations, had asked for education for their children and for future generations, an education equal to that of the "White man" (Morris, 1991, pp. 213-217). Such had not been attained. Formal educational development in other areas of Canada prior to the signing of Treaty 7 and the 1867 Confederation of the British North American colonies had a major impact on the educational happenings within the Treaty 7 communities. Treaty 7 formal educational development would be a facet of colonial educational administrative practices and the history of educational development prior to the signing of the numbered treaties. Thus historical precedent helped determine the formal educational beginnings in southern Alberta, even before the area became a province of Canada. Barman (1986) argued that "separation and inequality became the norm for young Indians not only at....[All Hallows school] but across Canada" (p. 125). Barman's argument of "educational inequality" is also applicable to the educational services received by Treaty 7 members during the time between signing the Treaty in 1877 and assuming administrative control of their schools in the 1980s. Thus it is important to look at the history of formal education in Canada, for as John Dewey (as cited in Johnson, 1968) stated, "The past adds a new dimension of life, but on condition that it be seen as the past of the present and not as another and disconnected world" (pp. vii-viii).

In August 1864 legislative members of the five British colonies in North America gathered at the Georgian legislature building in Charlottetown. The representatives of the maritime colonies of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, along with the host colony, Prince Edward Island, met initially to discuss Maritime Union. However, this agenda was soon marginalized by the broader concept of the federation of the five British colonies, introduced by the political coalition of John A. Macdonald and Georges-Etienne Cartier. The former represented Ontario (Canada West) and the latter Quebec (Canada East). By the close of the colonial gathering on September 7, 1864, the delegates had agreed to reconvene at Quebec City the following month, with the sole intent of furthering the discussion of the federation of the British North American colonies, a federation which would embrace the concept of a "supreme" central government with local legislatures retaining significant powers (Moore, 1997, p. 57). It was at the Charlottetown conference, Waite (1962) suggested, that the concept of Canadian confederation and "the heady discovery of national destiny" (p. 78) was formed.

Over the next two years Confederation and "national destiny" would be at the forefront of political discussion, not only in Quebec City, but also in the colonial legislatures and newspapers as well as in London, England, where the representatives of individual colonies tried to gain support for their particular preferences regarding the division of powers in the proposed confederation. Along the way, Prince Edward Island indicates its decision to withdraw from the negotiations. The four remaining colonies—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario—continued to address the issue of Confederation and the division of powers. One of the most politically explosive topics was education, for although some colonial legislative members such as John A. Macdonald favoured a federal role in the provision of education, others clearly preferred education to be a provincial responsibility, seeing education as the viable transmission of behaviour, beliefs, and skills applicable to the issue of socialization within their own cultural community and the subsequent continuation of their cultural, social, and political identity (House of Commons Debates, 1872, pp. 197-201). On April 29, 1872 in the House of Commons, Macdonald stated "it was known to every one that the question of education had threatened Confederation at its very inception, and a proposition that Education should be left to the General Legislature of the Dominion would have been enough to secure the repudiation of Confederation" (House of Commons Debates, 1872, p. 199).

The educational issue was a part of the larger confederation discussions; however, it drew the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches as well as the local colonial inhabitants into the debate. All were concerned with the education of children of European and American heritage and the debate reflected issues common to the European concept of formal education. Each colony wished to maintain its own educational system, which was perceived as meeting its individual needs as well as perpetuating its particular social, political, and economic history (Axelrod, 1997, p. 31). Prior to formalizing Confederation, each colony was "apprehensive" of "their provincial character" being "swamped and extinguished" within the creation of a new federal state (Reid, 1992, p. 215). Religious leaders were also involved in the education debate, and the Bishop of Toronto, in 1866, advised his parishioners that those who did not vote for confederation and separate schools "were committing a mortal sin" (Price, 1980, p. 11). The colonial systems in the 1860s reflected the French, British, and American Loyalist settlement history and their Western understanding of the purpose of education. Such understandings formed the basis of the education debate and the subsequent authority for the formal educational system within Confederation.

Whereas the European concept of education in the British North American territory had been entrenched for more than 200 years, the education of First Nation people had been practised "since the world began." Although the First Nations maintained their own education beliefs and teachings, they were also caught in the web of European formal education. By the 1860s two distinct systems of education for Aboriginal people existed: (a) their indigenous learning which had been passed from one generation to the next and was a part of their culture, language, religion, and economic way of life; and (b) European schooling established on their behalf. The European pattern of "educating" First Nation people corresponded with the arrival of explorers and settlers, who, regardless of their Christian denomination and linguistic preference, whether English or French, established sporadic educational endeavours focussed on converting the Aboriginal people to Christianity and Western civilization. Despite such overtures to include Aboriginal people in Western practices, First Nation people would not be a party to the Confederation debates. There is no evidence to suggest that any aspect of the debates relating to education embraced any discussion of First Nation educational matters. However, the decisions made during the Confederation debates and eventual ratification of the British North America Act in 1867 would have a major effect on how First Nation education developed not only as a result of Confederation, but also in subsequent negotiations relating to education in the numbered treaties. The political alliance of the four provinces did not impinge upon or define formal First Nation educational systems which had developed during colonial times; nevertheless, colonial educational history in respect to First Nations and the educational provisions in the British North America Act would both play major roles in First Nation education over the next century.

Development of Education Systems in the French and British North American Colonies

Johnson (1968) described Canadian schools as "reflections of those of our forefathers' European homelands" (p. 3)—a system of education which sought to perpetuate the cultural traditions indigenous to Europe. Lower (as cited in Johnson) furthered this argument, referring to Canada as "the child of European civilization" (p. 3). The education systems which developed in Canada were, therefore, linked to Europe as well as to the social, political, and economic history of the geographical area in which various groups of immigrants settled.

French Educational Traditions in New France

In 16th-century France, although there was a close union between the Roman Catholic Church and the state, education, health, and the social and religious well-being of the people were the sole domain of the Catholic clergy. The Roman Catholic clergy thus provided "social control and cohesion" (Titley & Miller, 1982, p. 13) in France and would hold a similar role in New France. As the French explored and claimed in the name of the King of France the territory they called New France, French institutional, cultural, linguistic, and educational practices were established. Gradually, French settlers populated the area of present-day Quebec and the Maritimes, solidifying a French presence in North America. In 1666 the French population in New France numbered 3,418. A successful land grant program encouraged French settlers to move to New France, and by 1763 the French population had grown to approximately 60,000 (Johnson, 1968, p. 7). Although land grants encouraged settlers, they were not the only beneficiaries of such grants, for in order to encourage the Church to continue its work in Quebec, as it had done traditionally in France, land grants were provided to the various religious orders. During the French regime, as part of seigneurial land rights, 26.3% of all land grants were allocated directly to the church for educational and religious purposes, thus solidifying the role of the Roman Catholic Church as well as initiating the precedent for land grants for educational purposes (p. 8).

Members of Roman Catholic religious orders travelled to North America and established schools and a curriculum based on French educational practices. In 1616 four teachers, Recollet priests, at the invitation of Samuel de Champlain travelled to New France and provided teaching services to the people of Quebec City, Trois Rivières, and Tadoussac. Shortly after, the Jesuit priests established an elementary school for boys in Quebec, and by 1636 they had established a college for boys who wished to enter the priesthood. The Jesuits would become the education leaders of schooling for young boys and men in Quebec for the next three centuries. Their colleges provided a French classical education, with some lectures delivered in Latin. Discipline was the "keynote" of the schools as instructors demanded "strict observance of rule, inculcated, profound reverence for authority pressed for minute introspection into motives and causes of action and maintained [strict] supervision" (Phillips, 1968, p. 21). Jesuits, as did other French Catholic orders, provided instruction for the youth of New France; however, Jesuit education was considered an "elitist and moral" task which ensured that the French "populace accepted ecclesiastical supremacy" in all spheres of their life and "proportionately to one's position on the social scale" (Titley & Miller, 1982, p. 26). The purpose and objective of education were clearly linked to Catholicism, for education was "to ensure the spiritual salvation of the individual through acceptance and observance of the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church (p. 26).

The Jesuit curriculum, known as the *Ratio Studiorum,* was taught in both France and New France, seemingly with equally effective results. It was, however, a curriculum intended only for those of French descent:

> The students, though not so numerous as in large cities of Europe, are nevertheless well constituted in body and mind, decidedly industrious, very docile and capable of making great progress both in the study of letters and in virtue; . . . [and] the children of French people born in Canada, and who speak and dress [as French citizens]... pursue the same studies as in Paris. I affirm that they have marked intellectual ability, good natural dispositions and are capable of succeeding in any branch of study that we are able to teach them. (Johnson, 1968, p. 9)

In 1711 Père Germain wrote:

> As regards the College of Quebec, everything is done, just as in our European colleges and perhaps with more exactness and regularity and with better results than several of our French colleges. There are classes in grammar, the humanities, rhetoric, mathematics and theology. (Johnson, 1968, p. 9)

Educational opportunities for girls were established by the Ursuline sisters, who arrived in Quebec in 1639. This female religious order received an educational land grant and began to provide schooling for girls, stressing religious studies, domestic skills, needlework, and etiquette. Marguerite Bourgeoys established a school for both girls and boys in Montreal in 1659, and her religious order, the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame, established schools in Quebec and Trois Rivières. These religious orders provided "an elite type of education for the daughters of the wealthy" (Titley & Miller, 1982, p. 13). The provision of education was expanded further with the establishment of the Jesuit College in Quebec in 1635 and the Grande Seminaire in 1663. Both provided French classical training. By 1668 the religious orders also provided vocational instruction in the practical skills—carpentry and masonry trades for those whose life work was outside classical training and the priesthood. Orphans and children of the poor were provided with some primary instruction from time to time by various religious orders; however, the Brothers Hospitaliers of the Cross were particularly committed to orphans and taught them practical crafts at their school established in Montreal in 1694 (Titley & Miller, 1982, p. 14).

By the early 1700s schools were a part of Quebec life. At least 12 elementary schools operated in the Quebec City area and a similar number in Montreal, and seven schools were opened in the district of Trois Rivières between 1665 and 1739 (Philips, 1968, p. 17). All these schools provided a curriculum of religious education, reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic, as well as Latin for some of the students.

A visiting Swedish botanist to New France in 1749 noted that "each church had a school for boys and girls," evidence of the fulfilment of the parish priest's responsibility to establish a school for settlers children where they might learn "reading, writing and religion" (Johnson, 1968, p. 8). These schools , as Abbé Gosselin in *Education Under the French Regime* argued, were well developed as in France; and although Gerard Filteau regarded the estimation that 80% of the male population of New France was literate may be high, the population was nevertheless highly literate with the merchants, administrators, clergy, officers, and seigneurs being well educated and many possessing substantial libraries (p. 10).

The French Regime and Formal First Nation Education

Roman Catholic religious orders, supported by the French Crown and governors of New France, had been successful in establishing French educational practices in New France for children of French settlers. They had also been intricately involved in instituting French educational conventions within the First Nation communities in the territory. When Jacques Cartier in 1534 erected a cross at Gaspé and claimed the territory for France, he offered prayers for and the redemption of the First Nation people with whom he came into contact and introduced the Christian religion to the eastern Aboriginal people. Jacques Cartier would be followed by representatives of various French religious orders supported by the Crown and Governors of New France, who would seek to convert First Nation people to Catholicism and, in so doing, subsequently introduced the rudiments of Western formal education. By 1600 Recollect and Jesuit priests journeyed among the Algonquin, Montagnais, and Mi'kmaq people in present-day Nova Scotia and along the Saint Lawrence River, learning their language and attempting to "educate the children in the mission field as a means of reaching the older generation and rearing up a generation of converts, [creating] . . . a Catholic community which would facilitate mass conversion" (Jaenen, 1996, p. 47).

The French commitment to the conversion of First Nation people to Catholicism is evidenced when in 1604 Pierre de Monts lost his royal charter for exclusive trading rights in New France as a result of the dissatisfaction of King Henry IV of France with de Monts' effort to Christianize the Mikmaq people. In 1608 Samuel de Champlain, with a vision of a new society, French in culture and Christian in religion, established a permanent French settlement at Quebec and the religious orders which took up residence in New France travelled to First Nation communities, offering redemption through conversion. This was viewed by the French as a step toward assimilating First Nation people into French civilization. In 1627 the *Charter of the One Hundred Associates*, which solidified both the colonial activities in New France and the fur trade activities between the French and First Nations, was signed by Louis XIII, who decreed that "Christianized Indians should have all the privileges of French citizenship," assuming, therefore, that First Nations people would be French in religion, culture, and language and thus entitled to all the rights of French men. The Charter stated:

> The descendant of Frenchmen who will take up residence in the said country, together with the Natives who will have been brought to acknowledge the Faith and will make profession thereof, will be supposed and reputed to be natural born Frenchmen, and as such will be allowed to come to live in France when it shall seem good to them. (Jaenen, 1996, p. 46)

By the 1630s the Jesuits had established a seminary for Indian boys, for such institutions were believed "to fix the Barbarians to a certain dwelling Place, and introduce our Customs and Laws amongst them; furthered by the Assistance of zealous People in Europe, Colleges might be founded to breed up young Savages in the Christian Faith" (p. 47).

During the French Regime, religious instruction and educational training were thus viewed as a means not only to "civilize" First Nations but to ensure the francization of the indigenous population through "conversion to Catholicism, adoption of sedentary agricultural or artisanal life, adoption of European manners, customs, laws and habits, and use of the French language in daily intercourse" (Jaenen, 1996, p. 47). The purpose of both religious and educational training was to assimilate First Nation people into the colonial society of New France. This action was confirmed by instructions from the French Crown to Jean Talon, Intendant of New France, in 1671 (as cited in Jaenen, 1996, p. 47):

> Always strive by all manner of means to encourage all the clergy and nuns who are in the aforementioned country to raise among them the largest possible number of the said (Indian) children in order that through instruction in the matters of our religion and in our ways they might compose with the inhabitants of Canada a single people.

By the end of the 17th century, French religious orders furthered the formal education of First Nation people beyond the adoption of French lifestyles by sending elite Indian scholars to France. Paul Le Jeune, a Jesuit priest, recorded in the *Jesuit Relations* that the intellectual ability of 12 to 15 year-old Indian boys was equal to that of European youth (as cited in Jaenen, 1996, p. 53). In order to address what the Jesuits and the New France regime considered a matter of cultural deficiency, First Nations were encouraged to settle amidst French settlers and learn from their neighbors. The King of France sent three women to teach the Indian women the French domestic skills of weaving and spinning; it was expected that Indian children would learn the language and customs of their French classmates (Jaenen, 1996, p. 53). Yet this process of francization was not to last for long. Religious orders attempted to isolate First Nations from the disparaging aspects of French society encountered in the settlements. In 1685 Governor Denonville of New France (as cited in Jaenen, 1996, p. 53) wrote:

> It was believed for a very long time that domiciling the savages near our habitations was a very great means of teaching these people. To live like us and to become instructed in our religion. I notice, Monseigneur, that the very opposite has taken place because instead of familiarizing them with our laws, I assure you that they communicate very much to us all they have that is the very worst, and take on likewise all that is bad and vicious in us.

The First Nation communities were initially encouraged to resettle close to French settlements, however, they became more and more isolated from French society, in part as a result of the desire of the priests and colonial government to protect them from the less desirable aspects of French society. Their communities became isolated "reserves" subject to the growing paternal authority of the religious orders. The isolation from French society also corresponded with the beginning of the practice of educating First Nation children in boarding schools apart from their family; a practice, however, that the Ursuline sisters noted accomplished little, for most of the students did not stay long at the boarding schools (Jaenen, 1996, p. 58). In 1668 Marie de l'Incarnation wrote that the Indian students only attended such schools

> as birds of passage and stay with us only until they are sad, something which savage humour cannot suffer; the moment they become sad, the parents take them away for fear they will dye. . . . Besides the Savages love their children extraordinarily and when they know that they are sad they will do everything to get them back. (Jaenen, 1996, p. 58)

By the end of the French Regime, the Jesuits, Ursulines, and other religious entities recognized that formal First Nation education had not resulted in the francization of First Nations, for the latter had not embraced European culture and thought nor to any degree French formal educational practices. Instead, they had maintained their own culture, traditional beliefs, and educational patterns (p. 61).

The Treaty of Paris and the Era of British Colonial Education

Education in New France was affected significantly as a result of the Treaty of Paris. Roman Catholic schools had depended on grants from France, but after 1763 they could no longer expect financial assistance from France nor from Protestant Britain, which gained the territory as a spoil of war, because Britain did not provide financial assistance to schools in its homeland. Limited by lack of funding and unable to accept new recruits into the Roman Catholic teaching orders, the level of funding for education deteriorated in Quebec under British rule. Nevertheless, the Roman Catholic Church would continue after the Treaty of Paris to be the main provider of education in Quebec. British rule indirectly would ensure the survival of French education as an institution in Quebec, with the passage of the Quebec Act in 1774. This act granted "free exercise" of the Roman Catholic religion, confirmed the church's right to collect tithes, and recognized the seigneurial system and French civil law. Although the name of the area would change from time to time, the role of the Roman Catholic Church in education would remain paramount. Quebec became the stronghold of Catholicism "because of the deep hold of their religion, the people of Quebec retained their language, and their way of life, as well as their church" (Phillips, 1968, p. 23).

French, British and American Formal Educational Influences in the Canadas

Formal French educational practices in New France in relation to both French settlers and First Nations would remain basically intact during British colonial rule from 1763 to 1867. The arrival of British settlers and the influx of American loyalists as a result of the American War of Independence resulted in the establishment of a second system of education in Quebec, one based on British and American educational governance practices and the English language for instruction. British and American educational influences also dominated the development of education systems in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Ontario (Upper Canada).

In 18th-century England, education was the responsibility of the parent and to a diminishing degree the church, for although the Church of England was the established church, it did not have control over education as the Roman Catholic Church did in France; rather, the state gradually became the dominant factor in English educational practices. The Act of Uniformity passed by the British Parliament in 1662 had required all heads of schools and all teachers to conform to the "liturgy" of the Church of England. However, 100 years later the law was not rigorously enforced, and by the 18th century, teachers of elementary subjects were not required to obtain a license from the Anglican Bishop in order to teach. As a result of the laxity of the law, nonconformists were able to teach and operate schools, providing a degree of diversity in schools and educational practices. By the end of the 18th century, Catholic and Protestant dissenters were permitted to teach in any educational institution except universities and British elite private schools.

A variety of schools provided instruction to British children, from elite grammar schools for the sons of the aristocracy and the rising industrial merchants, to the parish schools which taught reading and writing to children of the poor, as well as apprenticeship training which had been required by law since early in the 14th century. "By terms of the indenture the master undertook not only to look after the moral and religious training of the apprentice, but sometimes to have him taught the three R's as well" (Phillips, 1968, p. 39).

During the reign of Elizabeth I, legislation was enacted requiring parishes to provide apprenticeship training for the education of children of the poor. By 1802 legislation required factories to provide instruction in the areas of reading, writing, and arithmetic for the children employed in their facilities. Poor children in the industrial cities of Britain also received some education paid for by municipalities and charitable organizations. In 1699 Anglican philanthropy was organized to create the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, specifically to establish charity schools for the poor. Whereas the schools taught reading, writing, and arithmetic for boys, girls received instruction in reading and knitting, the school's primary purpose being to "inculcate religion, gratitude, industry, frugality, and subordination; . . . to make their pupils "loyal church members and to fit them for work in the stations of life to which it had pleased their Heavenly Father to place them" (Phillips, 1957, p. 39). At charity schools, students were often clothed and fed as well as taken to church, where they were reminded to be "thankful to their benefactors for the blessings" provided (p. 39). The concept of charity schools, however, would be associated not only with the poor and orphans of Britain, for in 1701, as an off-shoot of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was established to continue the work of its parent organization in supplying schoolmasters to teach in the far reaches of the British colonies. As the French had done, so too would the British transport their institutions to the outreaches of the territories they claimed in the name of their King. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts would play a significant role in education not only in relation to the education of British settlers in North America, but also in the formal education endeavours they undertook on behalf of First Nation people in Canada. Thus British educational systems and traditions would be transported to British North America, initially to the American colonies, subsequently to Quebec, and ultimately across the British territory.

Following the 1763 Treaty of Paris, British settlers and entrepreneurs began to move into Quebec. English-speaking settlers were followed by American loyalists moving into British territory as a result of the American War of Independence. The American loyalists settled predominately in the area which became known as the Eastern Townships. Others joined the growing number of British settlers in the Montreal area. The two groups of English-speaking inhabitants and their desire for formal education representative of their cultural and religious beliefs resulted in the development of a dual education system in Quebec, one French and Catholic, the other English and Protestant. In 1790 English Protestants in Quebec numbered 10,000, and they had established 18 private schools. By the early 1800s the Quebec urban population totalled 33,000 in the three towns and boasted 18 elementary schools, 11 for boys and 7 for girls; Quebec's rural population numbered 128,000 and was served by 30 schools divided equally between schools for boys and separate schools for girls. As a growing number of American Loyalists settled in the western region, the territory was divided as a result of the 1791 Constitution Act and became known as Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec).

In 1801, with the passage of the Education Act, state-administered education in Quebec "permitted local parishes or townships to create schools and receive limited state funding for their maintenance," and by 1829 the Syndics Act permitted locally elected trustees to administer government "aided schools" (Axelrod, 1997, p. 17). Although this legislation was opposed by the Roman Catholic Church because it was viewed as threatening to the authority of the parish priests, it nevertheless increased the total number of schools operating in Quebec. The schools quadrupled to 1,282 between 1828 and 1832, and an estimated one third of Lower Canada children attended school at this time (p. 18). This increase in school attendance, Axelrod argued, was a result of both Francophones and Anglophones supporting the Syndics Act despite the opposition of Church officials (particularly the Roman Catholics) and reflects the importance of community involvement in educational matters (p. 18).

The Loyalists along with the British settlers in Upper Canada established their own elementary or common schools. All instruction was in English, and the first schools were recorded in Kingston in 1785 and Fredericksburg in 1786. Following the American traditions, schools were established without government financial assistance. As early as 1790, Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe suggested that grammar schools, based on the tradition of the elite schools in England, be established, for Simcoe "believed that resources should be concentrated on providing a quality education to the few" (Titley & Miller, 1982, p. 16). In 1792 a grammar school was opened in Kingston with a grant of £100 from the colonial government, and by 1807 the District Public Grammar School Act was passed authorizing grammar schools for eight large districts, each receiving a grant from the colonial government for the teachers salary. This was the initial step in establishing a system of secondary schools and was the beginning of a government-assisted school system. In 1816 The Common School Act cemented elementary school jurisdiction in which communities with 20 students were empowered to provide their own schoolhouse and elect a three-man school board whose duty it was to hire a teacher with a grant from the colonial government. The Common School Act reflected the American custom of elected school boards exercising control over elementary education, as well as the American tenet of separating church and state, though Christian teaching and morality were not excluded from the classrooms. The Common School Act, however, clearly established Upper Canada education apart from that of Lower Canada. By 1822 Upper Canada had established a General Board of Education to oversee the operation of all schools in their territory, which by 1835 totaled 651 common schools attended by 14,776 students—representing about half of the potential students in Upper Canada, whose average total length of schooling was twelve months (Johnson, 1968, p. 27). To provide "the advantage of education" the colony spent $18.00 per pupil on grammar school education and $2.00 per pupil on common-school education. (p. 29).

By 1832 Sunday school classes supported by a variety of Protestant denominations taught basic literacy and religious teachings to 10,000 children in an estimated 350 to 400 schools (Axelrod, 1997, p. 15). These schools added to the variety of schools in Upper Canada, which ranged from Dame schools catering to the wealthy, who wanted their daughters to "obtain literacy, domestic skills and appropriate cultural breeding" (p. 15); to private tutors who provided schooling at home; and the Co-ed Grantham Academy and the Upper Canada College established in 1829. By 1840 there were 12 private academies providing grammar school level academic training for young girls (p. 16).

With the Act of Union in 1841, the two central colonies, Upper and Lower Canada, gained responsible government. Although unified by one legislature, the education systems of the two colonies remained separate and distinct from each other. Legislation was passed in 1841 in an effort to establish one common education system for both Canadas, in which municipalities gained the right to build schools and levy taxes for education purposes. The act, however, included a "dissent clause" which provided that

> any number of persons of a different faith from the majority . . . in any township or parish . . . might notify the school commission of intention to withdraw from the control of that body, chose their own school trustees and establish and maintain one or more common schools. (Johnson, 1968, p. 33)

Despite the intent to create a uniform education system, in 1846 a new Education Act was passed by the joint legislature of Upper and Lower Canada which applied only to Quebec and provided for the reaffirmation of the "principal of dissent." Two distinct school systems in Quebec—one Roman Catholic and largely French speaking, the other Protestant and English speaking—were authorized to collect provincial and local funding based on the portion of their specific population. Thus although a common education system had not been instituted, the scattered local schools in each colony were replaced by a colony-wide structure for public education (Careless, 1967, p. 35). By 1851 Quebec had school inspectors, a Superintendent of Education, and approved school texts for both

Catholic and Protestant schools, and had established three normal schools (two for French teachers and one for English teachers). On the eve of the Confederation debates, Quebec had all levels of education—elementary, secondary, universities, and *colleges industriels*—operating in both English and French and along denominational lines.

Similarly, the education system in Ontario was clearly entrenched on the eve of Confederation although based upon different educational beliefs. The Common School Acts of 1846 and 1850 established a provincial system which by 1850 provided nondenominational and "free common schools for all" (Johnson, 1968, p. 39) funded through the collection of property taxes. The concept of local property taxation financing the school system was borrowed from the United States of America, particularly New York state, and championed by Egerton Ryerson (Titley & Miller, 1982, p. 17). The school system was solidified by the Secularization Act, which ensured that the revenue from the sale of lands put aside for the clergy went to the government to be disbursed as education grants to the municipalities, which reflected Ryerson's goal for "a single school system embracing curriculum, inspection, teacher-training and teacher certification" (Johnson, 1968, p. 40). With the finalization of the Consolidated School Act of 1855, grammar schools and common schools were brought together under one administrative unit. The Acts of 1853 and 1855, however, allowed for parents whose children attended separate schools to be exempt from all property assessment for common schools and permitted the separate school trustees to levy rates for Roman Catholic parents.

The Maritimes: British and American Educational Influences

Formal educational development in the Maritimes, although subject to the same British and American influences after 1763, nevertheless evolved differently as a result of its colonial history, as well as the economic, religious, and linguistic makeup of the area. Educational development in Nova Scotia reflected the French, British, and American influences in Canadian education. The French established schools in Acadia in 1630 at La Heve and at Port Royal similar to those in Quebec. However, with the transfer of Acadia to British sovereignty in 1713, education in Nova Scotia was influenced by American settlers who, attracted by the rich agriculture land, moved into Nova Scotia following the

Treaty of Utrecht. In 1749 the first significant influx of British immigrants, 2,500 people, settled in Halifax. They were accompanied by two school masters supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Protestant beliefs, and the English language became the dominant mode of instruction. By 1752 private elementary schools were in operation with teachers from the 13 colonies or British teachers sponsored by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In 1758 the Nova Scotia legislature passed the first School Act, which stipulated that in order to operate a school, a license was required; as well, individuals were required to be screened by a Church of England minister and two Justices of the Peace.

Nova Scotia

As a result of the Treaty of Paris, 1763, the French territory of Ile Sainte Jean (PEI), Ile Royale (Cape Breton), and the Acadian territory was ceded to Britain. The territories were added to Nova Scotia. The hostilities between Britain and the 13 colonies resulted in approximately 30,000 Loyalists moving into the area and the subsequent partition of the territory in 1784 into Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. The Loyalists brought with them their American commitment to community schools and quickly established elementary schools and in 1788, grammar schools; within the decade King's College was founded in Windsor, Nova Scotia.

In 1808 the Nova Scotia legislature passed An Act Encouraging the Establishment of Schools, which provided government grants to supplement local taxes in an attempt to introduce free schooling for all children. Demonstrating little success, a subsequent act was passed in 1811, providing larger grants and permitting alternative ways to taxation as a way to raise money for the schools. The act provided for local school districts (comprised of 30 families, elected members, and the holding of annual meetings), and students were "taught free from expense whatsoever, other than their own books and stationery and individual portion of fuel" (Johnson, 1968, p. 48). By 1819 districts were required to provide free schooling for a certain number of children whose parents were unable to contribute to their schooling (p. 48). The Grammar School Act was passed in 1811, and by 1822, 12 grammar schools were operating in Nova Scotia. Four years later 5,500 students were enrolled in 217 schools, and the same year, 1826, the provincial legislature made it compulsory for each school district to establish a school if two thirds of the district's taxpayers requested one; by 1836 only a simple majority was required in order to establish a school (Axelrod, 1997, p. 13). The establishment of Mechanics Institutes in 1831 expanded the scope of education, providing adult education designed to contribute to the "moral improvement of workers by exposing them to scholarly lectures in the arts and sciences" (p. 14).

By 1850 half of all children in Nova Scotia received some schooling, and with the establishment of a Teachers' College in Truro, Nova Scotia, in 1853, teacher training was given focus. In 1864 the newly elected conservative government of Charles Tupper passed An Act for the Encouragement of Education, which established a Council of Public Instruction, a Superintendent of Education, county Boards, and elected trustees; and increased government financial assistance to those districts which levied school property taxes, cementing the belief that the property tax levy should contribute to the education of the poor. This act also established compulsory education in Nova Scotia. By 1865 the Nova Scotia legislature instituted free and common schooling for all children.

New Brunswick

Educational development in New Brunswick mirrored similar happenings in Nova Scotia. The influx of American loyalists brought the desire for educational opportunities at all levels for their children. In 1789 the College of New Brunswick was established in Fredericton; the Parish School Act established a small level of funding for common schools in 1802. Shortly after, An Act for Encouraging and Extending Literature in the Province was passed and formed the basis for secondary education. By 1808 grammar schools were established in New Brunswick. In 1816 New Brunswick passed the Grammar School Act and authorized grants for one grammar school in each county. Though local boards were granted the right to levy school taxes in 1816, the legislation was withdrawn in 1818. Similar to the schooling movement in Britain, the monitorial school system was established in New Brunswick in 1817. The system was one in which a large number of children were taught literacy skills by fellow students or monitors; the brightest students in the class taught others, who would then be assigned the responsibility to teach the new students. The monitorial school movement also spread to Nova Scotia; however, it was particularly popular in New Brunswick, where 39 monitorial schools were in operation by 1824, providing instruction to 1,200 students, both fee paying and free. The schools, partly funded by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church of England, provided "cheap education and stern discipline" (Hamilton, 1986, p. 108).

By 1845 some 500 schools served 16,000 students in New Brunswick (Axelrod, 1997, p. 13) In 1847 a Board of Education was established, comprising the Governor and members of his Executive, and the supervision of schools was also formalized. The Parish School Act of 1858 established elective school boards, nondenominational schools, and supervision of schools and educational standards. Three years later, grammar schools came under the control of local boards and the Superintendent.

The provision of education was important to colonial legislatures and to settlers whether English or French, Roman Catholic or Protestant. Different religious beliefs and culture led to both nondenominational schools as evidenced in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, dual linguistic and religious schools in Quebec, and public education schools and separate schools in Ontario.

Education by the 1840s was seen by Reformers William Lyon Mackenzie (Ontario) and Louis Joseph Papineau (Quebec) as "an important instrument of democratization" (Axelrod, 1997, p. 25) Both men believed that "ordinary citizens had the right to be educated and enlightened, and, as McKenzie argued, [there was] no moral justification for continuing to keep [the people] in darkness" (p. 25). Other more conservative political leaders believed that

> economic progress required civil order, and schools had a key role to play in ensuring political stability in a period of profound social change. Schools should cultivate the student's sense of citizenship, loyalty, respect for property, and deference for authority. (p. 25)

Egerton Ryerson, the Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada, argued that "education should prepare youth for their appropriate duties and employments of life, as Christians, as persons of business, and also as members of the civil community in which they live" (p. 25).

First Nations, however, were on the periphery of "civil community" of formal education within British North America from 1763 to 1867. Although British missionaries possessed no less a sense of mission than their Jesuit and Recollet counterparts had a century earlier, the formal education institutions requested by First

Nation people or instituted on their behalf by the missionaries were sporadic and linked to the theme of conversion, baptism, and acceptance of European customs, language, and culture. Although the British brought a new dimension of European civilization—Protestant in religion and the use of the English language for instruction—the Western concept and practice of formal education remained the same.

The British Colonial Era: Formal First Nation Education

The initial development of First Nation formal education in what is today southern Ontario, although it was influenced by British and American practices, differed somewhat from developments in Quebec and the Maritimes. Prior to 1763 little European settlement took place in the region other than that related to exploration and fur-gathering expeditions, with only approximately 600 English people living in the area primarily occupied by Algonquin First Nation communities. However, the American War of Independence would affect the area immensely. By 1791 British (including American) settlers numbered 14,000, a population which by 1812 had grown to 90,000 (Maclean, 1978, p. 15). The ever-expanding number of British settlers brought with them their social and political institutions and practices, and Protestant missionary organizations, predominantly Anglican and Methodist. The missionaries carried forth the Christian message of conversion and baptism to First Nation communities, and as argued by Maclean in The Hidden Agena: Methodist attitudes to the Objiwa and the development of Indian schooling in Upper Canada, 1821-1860, conversion was quickly followed by the provision of formal education in present day southern Ontario (see Table 4.1).

Although this pattern of Christian conversion and the provision of formal education is a common theme, First Nations, particularly the Iroquois, established their own schools in the late 18th century. The Iroquois, British allies during both the French and British wars and the American War of Independence, left their traditional territory and moved north during the winter and spring of 1784-1785 as the British fell to the victorious 13 colonies. In 1784 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had assisted in the establishment of a school requested by the Iroquois at their new community on the Bay of Quinte. This school is believed to have been the first Protestant school in Ontario

Table 4.1

Christianization and the Advent of Formal Schooling[3]

Day schools in southern Ontario	Date of conversion	Date of first school
River Credit	1824	1824
Munceytown	1825	1825
Rice Lake	1826	1827
Belleville	1826	1827
St. Clair	1834	1834

(Daniels, 1973, p. 59). The following year Chief Joseph Brant of the Iroquois initiated construction of a school at Grand River for his people and secured the funding for the teacher's salary from the British War Chest—the first time that government funding was provided for First Nation education. Chief Brant wanted his children to receive a European education, but not at the expense of their Iroquoian heritage (Ray, 1996, p. 133). Throughout the colonial era the British government provided contributions to the colonial legislatures for financial assistance toward the operation of First Nations schools. However, during the early formal education period in Upper Canada, First Nations were often involved in the establishment of education facilities for their children, being "anxious to have their children educated" (Daniels, 1973, p. 60). The 1825 *Report of the Canadian Auxiliary Mission Society* supported Daniels' argument; it stated that "about 100 adults of the Mississaugas have . . . erected a school with a view to afford their children the advantage of education" (HBCA.SF.History of Indian Education. R. M. Connelly, 1964, unpublished document, p. 7). Furthermore, First Nations also provided financial support both for the maintenance of their particular school and for the teachers' salaries, teachers who were frequently of Aboriginal descent (Daniels, 1973, p. 59). Each day school started and ended with singing and prayers, in order to permanently "fix in the mind, the principles of Christianity"; nevertheless, "arithmetic, geography, astronomy, geometry, English grammar, and natural and sacred histories were also taught" (Maclean, 1978, p. 42). The proliferation of First Nation day schools in the vicinity of the Saint Lawrence River and the continual requests by First Nation Chiefs for schools to be built in their communities supports Connelly's argument, in an unpublished document in the Hudson's Bay Archives, that during the first quarter of the 19th century there was "a strong Indian support for education and a willingness to contribute to its cost" (p. 7).

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[3] Maclean, 1978, p. 31.

British Colonial policy also seemed to support First Nation education, as evidenced by Lord Glenelg's letter to the British Colonial Office in 1836 recommending that the government set aside funds for "the erection of schoolhouses, the purchase of elementary books and the payment of resident schoolmasters, for the benefit of the Indian tribes" (Connelly , 1964, p. 7) in Upper Canada. However, the increasing cost of the Indian Department, the British government's desire to reduce its overall expenditures, and the belief that the assimilation of Indian people was not proceeding quickly enough resulted in a change of government policy as well as in its financial commitment to First Nation formal education endeavours. The British and Colonial governments embarked on their decision to move forward to "to assimilate them [Indians] to the rest of the Population" (Maclean, 1978, p. 115). In 1838 Lord Durham was commissioned by the British government to review the general state of affairs in the British North American colonies and the political conflict between Upper and Lower Canada; furthermore, given that "the condition of the Indians as to education is far from creditable to British rule," it was recommended to him that he "accordingly take into immediate consideration the best means of establishing and maintaining schools among them in which the Rudiments of Education shall be taught, joined, if possible, with instruction in Agriculture and some of the Handicrafts" (Connelly, 1964, p. 7).

The 1840s ushered in an era of the gradual closing of day schools and replacement with boarding schools in which Indian children were educated away from their home community, in an attempt to hasten the process of assimilation into the Euro-Canadian lifestyle. In 1847 the *Report on the Affairs of Indians in Canada*, recorded in the *Journal of the Legislative Assembly* of Upper and Lower Canada, stated that education for First Nations "must consist not merely of training of the mind, but of a weaning from the habits and feelings of their ancestors, and the acquirements of the language, arts and customs of civilized life" (Thorner, pp. 380-381). The *Report* went further to quote the Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs that he was

> of the opinion that a general Education should be provided for the Indian youths, both male and female on a uniform system. . . . The children should reside at the Establishment, and be placed under the constant supervision of a competent and attached Tutor. (p. 381)

Thus while the education of the students was to consist of "reading, writing, and arithmetic and religious instruction," both boys and girls, the *Report* recommended, should receive agricultural and domestic training similar to training "acquirements as are possessed by white people of the inferior class" (p. 381). The *Report* left little doubt that in order for the students to gain such education and training, their parents were, it believed, "ready and willing to give up their children to the entire control and management of the teachers" (p. 382). Such an education program, the *Report* stated, would enable Indians to improve their condition, elevate their race, and reduce the burden to the British Government and the Missionary Societies (p. 382). The official intention was, therefore, to change the purpose and type of schools attended by First Nation students. Boarding schools for Indian students took root under the British regime, as it had more than a century earlier during the French regime—schools such as the one at Grape Island in the Bay of Quinte comprising a "fifty-acre farm with seven cows and, in addition to religious education and the three R's, taught housekeeping, spinning, knitting, weaving and dairy management to the girls while giving instructions in general trade and agriculture to the boys" (Daniels, 1973, p. 61). The schools were given credence when Egerton Ryerson, Superintendent of Schools for Upper Canada, wrote that the purpose of schools for First Nation students should be "to give a plain English education adapted to the working farmer and mechanic" (Connelly, 1964, p. 11) and that such training required the Indian students to reside together in a religious environment in order to elevate their character. Ryerson also recommended that these schools be run jointly by religious organizations and the colonial government (p. 11).

Ryerson's recommendations were implemented, and the colonial government made an annual per capita payment for each Indian student in attendance at the school;

the religious organizations which operated the boarding schools were responsible for the books, furniture, livestock, and farming equipment, as well as the salary of the teachers (Connelly, 1964, p. 11). However, Lord Elgin questioned the level of British colonial expenditures on First Nation formal education and wrote that "it seems to me that less has been accomplished towards the civilization and improvement of the Indians in Canada in proportion to the expense incurred than has been done for the native Tribes in any of our other Colonies" (Careless, 1967, p. 154). By the end of the 1850s others questioned Ryerson's "benevolent experiment" and wrote that it had been "to a great extent a failure" because few students attended the schools for any length of time, that their parents were prejudiced against the boarding or manual labor schools, and that there was little evidence that the students applied the skills they learned in the boarding schools once they returned to their home communities (Connelly, 1964, p. 12).

In 1857, in an attempt to persuade Indians to assimilate more quickly into colonial society, the Upper and Lower Canada joint legislature passed An Act to Encourage the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes. The act provided for adults, whether individually or a male on behalf of his family, to give up their/his Indian status and band membership in return for financial and social benefits. The act stated:

> Whereas it is desirable to encourage the progress of Civilization among the Indian Tribes in this Province, and the gradual removal of all legal distinctions between them and her Majesty's other Canadian Subjects, and to facilitate the acquisition of property and of the rights accompanying it, by such individual Members of the said Tribes as shall be found to desire such encouragement and to have deserved it. (Indian and Northern Affairs, 1978, p. 26)

In order to have "deserved" enfranchisement, the act stated

> that any such Indian of the male sex, and not under twenty-one years of age, is able to speak, read and write either the English or the French language readily and well, and is sufficiently advanced in the elementary branches of education and is of good moral character and free from debt, then shall be competent to . . . be enfranchised, [and] . . . shall no longer be deemed an Indian. (p. 27)

By 1860 enfranchisement was believed to be the new vehicle to assimilation and the principle focus of First Nation formal education in Upper and Lower Canada. Miller (1996) argued that not only enfranchisement, but also residential schools which

> in the nineteenth century begun life as the product of both Indian initiative and European cultural aggression . . . gradually became the vehicle of the newcomers' attempts to refashion and culturally eliminate the first inhabitants' way of life and identity. (p. 10)

Although there is a significant history of formal educational endeavours relating to First Nations students in Upper Canada, formal educational opportunities were not common during the British colonial era in the Maritimes. The Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia had during the French regime received some formal educational training from French Catholic religious orders. As early as 1611, Father Pierre Biard, a Jesuit priest, worked among the Mi'kmaq and the Capuchin priests and established a school for Mi'kmaq students at La Heve on the south shore in 1630. A decade later a school was opened at Port Royal for Indian and French boys; and shortly after, the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame established a school at Louisburg. All of these schools, however, provided instruction to only a very small number of children; instruction was in the French language; and all teachers were members of Roman Catholic religious orders. When the territory was ceded by France to Britain in 1713, any further French involvement in the formal educational opportunities for the Mi'kmaq people ended. British colonial governance and the arrival of the British settlers in Halifax and American settlers in the Annapolis Valley area meant that all schooling in the territory would be in the English language and Protestant in religious orientation. For the most part, however, few Mi'kmaq children attended educational institutions, with only colonial common schools being available to them, for schools were not built within the First Nation communities until after Confederation. Joseph Howe, in his *Report of Indian Affairs*, wrote in 1843 that the education of the Indians was one of the most important topics; however, he found that the Mi'kmaq were "strongly prejudiced against learning to read or write any other language than their own" (Connelly, 1964, p. 5). During the French regime, the priests had used an adaptation of the French alphabet to enable the Mi'kmaq to utilize the French alphabet and phonetics in the practice of writing their own language, a practice still in use over a century later!

In 1784 the territory known as Nova Scotia was divided into Nova Scotia and New Brunswick as a result of the large influx of American loyalists. As the latter moved into the area, they brought with them their own social and political institutions and practices and also their customary ways of relating with First Nation people. One of the organizations which followed the Loyalists was the New England Company, funded by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; it moved into New Brunswick in 1786. Its purpose was to "propagate the gospel among Indians." In New Brunswick the Society proceeded to establish schools for the Mi'kmaq and the Maliseet nations, and a year after its arrival, three schools were in operation. However, shortly after, the decision was made to centralize its activities at one school, Sussex Vale. It would ultimately be referred to as Sussex Vale Indian College and offered a curriculum of reading, writing, mathematics, and natural philosophy, as well as apprenticeship programs in farming and trades for young Indian boys. Although some White boys were initially enrolled in the school, the curriculum was different for both sets of students (Daniels, 1973, p. 58). In 1819 Sussex Vail Indian College was renamed the Indian Academy and received funding from the New Brunswick legislature because, like other schools in the province, it agreed to utilize the monitorial school system. However, the school closed in 1826 after the public complained that it was "a monument of wasteful expenditure . . . and was not achieving its intended purposes" (Hamilton, 1986, p. 108).

First Nation formal education during British rule from 1763 to 1867 was sporadic in practice, particularly in the Maritimes, and both in the Maritimes and Upper and Lower Canada was separate from mainstream educational development in the colonies. It was funded primarily by churches and missionary societies, though from time to time the British government provided funding for the formal education of Aboriginal youth; however, this financial commitment was gradually scaled back, and in 1860 the British government transferred responsibility for Indian Affairs and Indian education to the colonial legislatures. Initially, at the start of the British era, day schools were established, often at the urging of First Nations; however, by the end of the British colonial experience, boarding schools instituted by colonial government and church societies provided the major portion of formal educational opportunities for Aboriginal youth. This was in contrast to the corresponding growth of day schools for non-Aboriginal children in British North America within the two decades prior to Confederation. During this 20-year timeframe, the number of students in publicly operated day schools rose from 16,000 to 800,000, and Axelrod (1997) argued that this large increase in student numbers reflected "a major transformation in Canadian society. Mass schooling had arrived" (p. 33). First Nation students, however, would not be party to this transformation; instead, limited formal education and boarding schools would become the norm. Confederation would reinforce the education systems for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people.

The North-West Territories were far removed both from the early beginnings of formal education for both First Nations' and settlers' children, as well as from the Confederation debates. Yet the events in the east would have major repercussions for the First Nation people whose homes had been "since time began" the western outreaches of the prairies. The unification drive of the four founding provinces would cast its web westward as it sought to expand its territorial base from sea to sea. Expansion, however, would not only encompass geographical boundaries but would also dictate that the young nation spread its political, social, and educational beliefs and institutions across the land. Each having fought for its own educational institutions as a reflection of its own linguistic, cultural, and social beliefs, the four original provinces, as a united Canada, would espouse a single national educational policy for the First Nation people of the western prairies. In less than a decade after Confederation, the Aboriginal people of the prairies faced an influx of European and Canadian settlers whose social, political, and educational institutions threatened the very linguistic, cultural, social, and educational tenets of First Nations. "Since time began" The People had adjusted to the changing conditions within their territory, building a way of life that had reflected their own community lifestyle.

CHAPTER V

DOG DAYS TO FUR TRADERS

The new nation of Canada was both in location and cultural milieu a vast distance from the land of the Treaty 7 people; however, by 1867 The People had a history of contact with Europeans who traveled to and crisscrossed the Blackfoot Confederacy territory, contact which not only had established a mutual awareness of each other's lifestyles, but also followed the terms and conditions of the Treaty 7 people. The Blackfoot Confederacy, by the mid-19th century was both a numerical and powerful entity, described as "opulent Indians, . . . prosperous, . . . well clothed and well furnished with horses and guns" (Father Scollen; as cited in Morris, 1991, p. 248). Those who visited or traded with The People fully understood that the level of their activities was dependent upon the sanction of the First Nations and ultimately an oral agreement between the two entities. Fur traders often carried out their activities on the periphery of The People's territory in recognition of the power of The People to defend their territory and also the fact that The People determined the level of their involvement with those with whom they came into contact. Their vibrant culture, way of life, and the land which provided for their substance were vigorously defended.

The Creator's Gift: The Prairie Landscape

During the 16th and 17th centuries, the traditional prairie lands of the Treaty 7 members were immured from the European settlers in the British North American colonies by the expanse of geography. The prairies which "rippled with hummocky hills and valleys, wide plains and deep river trenches, rock escarpments, eroded badlands, sandhills and sinuous coulees" (Bryan, 1991, p. 1) stretched eastward from the foothills of the Rocky Mountains for 1,200 kilometres and southward from the North Saskatchewan River to the American grasslands of the Missouri and Mississippi river areas. The extremes in the weather—short, hot, dry summers and long, cold winters—added to the isolation of the area. To the Blackfoot Confederacy and the Tsuu T'ina and Stoney nations, however, the land was a gift of the Creator to their ancestors. Louise Crop Eared Wolf, a Blood Tribe elder, when interviewed for *The True Spirit and*

Original Intent of Treaty 7 in 1996, stated that her people believed that "the Creator had given to all living things and living beings an equal right to live on the Earth" in a land where "the sun is the power of growth; the river is the power of life; the grass is the power of spirituality; the mountains are the power of peace" (Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, 1996, p. 68). Bill McLean, a Stoney elder, stated that his people "had a long tradition of contact with the land and respect for it; spirituality was bound up with the land" (Treaty 7 Elders & Tribal Council, 1996, p. 89). Chief John Snow (1977) in his book *These Mountains Are our Sacred Places: The Story of the Stoney Indians* wrote of the connection of his people with the land:

> Our Mother Earth called us from the forests, the prairies, the valleys, the mountainous areas, the lakes, rivers, and springs: "Come my children, anyone who is hungry, come and eat from the fruits and gather from the abundance of this land. Come, everyone who thirsts, come and drink pure spring waters that are especially provided for you." Everywhere the spirits of all living things were alive. (p. 12)

The People adapted and thrived in their territory and "were healthy, self-sufficient, and independent people" (Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, 1996, p. 91). Millions of buffalo migrated on a north-south axis on the prairies and formed the basis of The People's economy as well as their source of shelter, clothing, tools, and food; deer, antelope, birds, fish, and berries supplemented their diet. It was, in part, the very land, the climate, and the ready supply of food which distanced The People from the colonial activities thousands of miles to the east and to the west across the Rocky Mountains and thus delayed the outreach of the European appendages into their midst.

The Blackfoot Confederacy consisted of three nations, the Siksika (Blackfoot), the Kainaiwa (Blood), and the Piikani (Peigan). All three nations spoke a dialect of the Blackfoot language—an Algonquin language—and had lived on the prairies since time began. The Tsuu T'ina (Sarcee) were a small Beaver-speaking nation who had originally migrated from the north and formed an alliance with the Blackfoot Confederacy. The Stoney Tribe composed of three bands—Bearspaw, Chiniki, and Wesley/Goodstoney—which had separated from the Sioux and gradually moved westward to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. Their contact with the Blackfoot Confederacy was limited at best, as the Stoney people allied themselves with the Cree people, the traditional enemies of the Blackfoot. Representatives of the three member nations of the Blackfoot Confederacy, the Tsuu T'ina, and the Stoney people signed Treaty 7 at Blackfoot Crossing on September 22, 1877. Prior to the mid-19th century, the Gros Ventres had also lived adjacent to the Blackfoot Confederacy but subsequently moved south into American territory. Each of the Nations pursued its own lifestyle, culture, religion, and education and believed that a healthy community was based on spiritual, material, social, and artistic endeavors (Meili, 1991, p. 56). For the people of Treaty 7, "life was not a fragmented one; . . . life was one in which religion (and reverence for nature, which revealed religious truth) was woven throughout all parts of the social structure and observed in conjunction with every activity (Snow, 1977, p. 12). Over time The People adapted their way of life to the circumstances around them, as evidenced by the northward migration of the horse and its subsequent role in Treaty 7 society. From the 16th century onward the horse, introduced to Central America by the Spanish, traveled northward and by the early 18th century replaced the dog as a means of transport and as a pack animal in Blackfoot society. The migration of the horse to the prairies ended an era referred to as The Dog Days by the people of the Blackfoot Confederacy. The horse was associated with a new era, since the use of the horse increased the speed and effectiveness of the Blackfoot hunters in the buffalo chase, as well as enabled the Treaty 7 members to travel further and faster than ever before. The Blackfoot became recognized for their riding skill and the size of their herds. The number of horses a family or tribe owned was a symbol of wealth, and horses were branded with hieroglyphics to identify ownership (Dempsey, 1990, p. 6). In *The Blackfeet Raiders on the Northwestern Plains*, Ewers (1958) estimated that some individual Blackfoot owned between 100 and 200 horses (p. 95). George Simpson, Governor-in-Chief of the Hudson's Bay Company, estimated that in 1841 the number of horses owned by an Blackfoot family which visited Fort Edmonton may have been 2,000 (Dempsey, 1990, p. 6). Although the horse was often a highly valued trade item and a symbol of wealth, the Indian people shared their horses with the community, when they moved camp, when they hunted, and in time of battle.

The Hudson's Bay *Journals* document the frequency and great distances the Blackfoot travelled. In 1802 Peter Fidler record that "the Blackfoot with their families go every fall to [the] Missouri river to meet the Crow Mountain Indians" (HBCA.B34/a/12) and traded with other Aboriginal people of the Missouri and Lower Mississippi river areas and westward with the Kootenays. Similarly, David Thompson wrote that Peigan followed the buffalo "along the foot of the Rocky Mountains, the Bow River and even as far as the Banks of the Mississsouri [sic], to the Southward" and "far beyond the Mississsouri [sic]" (Belyea, 1994, p. 182). George Simpson's essay on the Blackfoot, indicated that they travelled every year "along the banks of the Saskatchewan [River] as far down as Cumberland [House]," which was situated close to the present-day Manitoba-Saskatchewan border (Dempsey, 1990, p. 4).

Like other Plains Indians, according to Dempsey (1990), Treaty 7 Nations

> usually collect in large bodies of 50, 100 or 200 lodges, and remain encamped in one spot as long as Buffalo and other animals are to be found in the neighbourhood. They construct their lodges very neatly, by uniting a number of straight poles of 12 to 15 feet . . . over which a covering of dressed Buffalo skins is stretched and pinned closely at the edges, forming a neat, warm, . . . comfortable dwelling. . . . The tent of the Chief of the Sarcees [Tsuu Tina] is sufficiently large to hold 100 persons. (pp. 4-5)

Each of the nations had its own system of government, usually with a hereditary chief, and traditional law which "consisted of customs, education, counselling, child rearing, and policing" (Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, 1996, p. 315), differences which did not prevent them from forming strong alliances with each other. In October 1800, Duncan McGillivray's *Account* of his travels in the North West stated, "The Blackfeet [sic], Piegans [sic] and Blood are unquestionably the same nation, as they speak the same language and have the same manners and customs. They consist of about Seven hundred tents or a thousand families" (Belyea, 1994, p. 182). Forty years later, George Simpson estimated that the population of the English Blackfoot Confederacy (differentiating from the Blackfeet, who lived south of the Hudson's Bay territory) and the Tsuu T'ina nation totaled 6,700 individuals (see Table 5.1 for a breakdown of this total). Simpson estimated that the population was probably double this figure prior to the "fearful scourge, the Small Pox which so much diminished the population" during the epidemic of 1838 to 1839, and used the example of the Tsuu Tina who "out of 140 tents, or a population of 1800 souls, 30 tents or about 250 souls only outlived the awful visitation" (Dempsey, 1990, p. 3).

Table 5.1

Populations of the English Blackfoot Confederacy and the Tsuu T'ina Nation[4]

Nation	Tents	Warriors	Woman & Children	Total
Blackfoot	300	600	1,500	2,100
Peigans	350	700	1,800	2,500
Blood	250	500	1,250	1,750
Sarcees (Tsuu T'ina)	50	100	250	350
Total				6,700

Lifelong Education

Russell Wright, a Siksika elder, in conversation with Meili (1991) in *Those Who Know Profiles of Alberta Elders*, said that the Blackfoot society and education were

> based on the sacred four and the circle. Four signifies the number of parts in many significant wholes—four seasons, four directions, four human growth phases, four decision-making steps. And these great steps or changes form a circular chain, always coming back to a point and circling again. . . . Everything the power of the world does is in circles: the sky, earth, stars, sun, and moon are round. (p. 49)

Education was essential for the survival and continuation of their community. Education prepared each person for membership not only within a specific First Nation, but also for their role in the future of their community. Learning was a way of life and a lifelong task. Children were not separated from adults for educational purposes; rather, the young learned in their day-to-day activities from the community—their relatives, elders, and tribal leaders—education was a holistic process, a process which focussed on the total individual and the survival of the community.

Ewers (1958) described Blackfoot education:

> the children were taught the elements of good manners and respect for their elders. They were expected to sit quietly while adults were talking in the tipi, to perform their chores promptly, to observe the taboos of the family medicine bundles, and to help the aged and show particular respect to them. They were taught to take teasing gracefully. (p. 102)

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[4] Compiled from Dempsey, 1990, p. 3.

Everyone in the tribal community was responsible to inform, teach and reteach, guide, and encourage the child to become a worthy person as he or she travelled through the circle of life, from child to youth to adult, to elder (Meili, 1991, p. 50). Children learned the history of their people from their elders and lessons of adaptation and survival on the prairies from the whole community. During the pre-teenage years boys learned the honor of battle not only by practising the skills of war, but also by hearing in the evenings "tales that extolled the virtues of warrior heroes" (Brownstone, 1993, p. vii). The accomplishments of the individuals and of the tribe were passed on from one generation to the next by grandparents and elders who spoke of tribal accomplishments. The youngsters enacted the feats of the warriors as they learned the skills necessary for future recognition in hunting and in battle. As early as four years of age boys played with bows and arrows, learning the skills necessary for hunting, and chased young buffalo in preparation for their later role in the buffalo hunt; by the age of six most children rode bareback or on saddles made for them by their grandmothers; and the boys were often responsible for looking after the family's horses by the time they were 10 years old (Ewers, 1958, pp. 102-104).

Girls learned from their mothers the skills required to prepare food, move the community camp from one site to another, and look after their families (Kidd, 1986, p. 41). Play activities blended mental and physical skills necessary to be successful hunters and tipi builders. They learn to tan hides for clothing and blankets and to use tools required for their life on the prairies. By the age of 10 children performed small duties within the tribal community. Education was a process of learning and relearning, from essential tool and weapon construction to the religious and cultural beliefs of the tribe (Kidd, 1986, p. 40). The Treaty 7 people considered storytelling a gift, and young children spent time with the elders, who told of the legends and stories of their people. In so doing, the young learned to be careful listeners.

Community Life

The norms of Blackfoot society were the responsibility of the whole community. Socially acceptable behavior was encouraged through the use of stories and activities. As the Stoney elder, Clarice Kootenay recorded, "The Stoneys had their own systems of rights and values and that through oral tradition these rights and values were passed on from generation to generation" (Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, 1996, p. 91). Often social norms and the beliefs of the tribe were transmitted by elders, whose knowledge and wisdom were recognized and respected by the community. Elders played a key role in the everyday life of the community, and important decisions affecting the tribe were "never made in the absence of or without consultation with the elders" (p. 14). The latter never debated a subject or arbitrated disputes; rather, they entered into dialogue (Meili, 1991, p. 55). Decisions, Russell Wright stated, were based on four principles: dialogue, consensus, decision, and harmony in decision making, ultimately resulting in community unity and spirit (p. 56).

The Treaty 7 members' belief in harmony with the land and within the community was a part of the religion of the people and was manifested in their daily lives and activities and in their knowledge and understanding of the Creator (Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, 1996, p. 90). Often individuals had their faces painted "with sacred ochres to protect them from anything that would be negative" (p. 14). Gatherings of special significance or celebrations occurred throughout the year when the whole tribe gathered together for occasions such as the Sun Dance. Other events, such as the Kano'tsississin (a ceremony where everyone smoked), took place each winter between September and May. All those affiliated with the sacred smudge—elders, medicine pipe holders, members of sacred societies, and leaders both in peace and war—brought their pipes and knowledge of sacred songs and prayers as they asked for guidance in the discussions and decisions to be made at meetings. Prior to

> any pipe being used, the first requirement was to place the sweetgrass on some coals, and in doing this, you would ask the Giver of Life to guide you in what you will say and that you will only hear good things. The pipe would then be taken and again you would ask the Giver of Life to give you courage and strength as the stone of the pipe is strong, and that you will talk straight (honestly) as the stem of the pipe is straight. (p. 14)

Frankie Turning Robe of the Siksika Nation stated that the pipe was considered "to be the most sacred artifact; . . . no one can just smoke it" (Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, 1996, p. 88), for the pipe ceremony was and is viewed as the most solemn ceremony. It reaffirms "faith in the great spirit" (p. 88). As Governor-in-Chief of the Hudson's Bay Company, George Simpson met and negotiated fur trading agreements and travel access with First Nations, and in so doing participated in pipe ceremonies. He wrote that for the Blackfoot, "smoking was a ceremonious and social" occasion; people sat "in a circle, circulating the precious pipe" (Dempsey, 1990, p. 6). Tobacco and berries were also used in "ceremonies to honor the earth's spirit" (Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, 1996, p. 89). People prayed to the Mother Earth, from which they believed everything came, and "whenever they offered anything in sacrifice, it went back into the earth" (p. 89). Religious practices and societies were an integral part of Treaty 7 society. The Blackfoot elder, Russell Wright, stated that their ancestors had established

> eight great religious tribal societies which comprised of the Horn Society, the highest religious order, devising the tribal code of ethics; the Brave Dogs were the warrior protectors of the tribe; grandmothers and matronly women were included in the Buffalo Women's Society which provided Spiritual leadership and family life lessons; and children belonged to the Prairie Chicken Society. (Meili, 1991, p. 53)

The Treaty 7 Nations were oral societies; their history, traditions, religion, and way of life were passed orally from one generation to the next. However, they also used drawings and maps to transmit information. The ancestors of members of the Blackfoot Confederacy drew petroglyphs such as those at Writing-on-Stone, now a provincial park located along the sandstone cliffs of the Milk River in southern Alberta, to transmit information. The petroglyphs recorded traditions, nomadic survival, spiritualism, and shared experiences that occurred at different times and places, as well as dreams and vision quests for supernatural power (Dempsey, 1973, p. ii). Pictographic paintings on hides, typically a male activity, recorded important happenings, and women incorporated geometrical designs on buffalo-hide robes and clothing, particularly shirts (Ewers, 1958, p. 112). During the long winters the women perfected their artistic skills with intricate quill work on garments; as well, detailed designed beadwork on items of clothing was particularly prized by The People (Meili, 1991, p. 56). Elderly women were often expert craftspeople whose finely made saddles were sought after (Ewers, 1958, p. 112).

Using a tanned animal hide, the Blackfoot kept a winter count, a method of reckoning time and significant events each year (Dempsey, 1965, p. 3). The winter counts were kept by men of the tribe and recorded epidemics, battles, treaties, Sun Dances, deaths of individuals, weather and meteoric showers, the number of lodges or tipis in a community, or other events that the recorder believed to be important. From the 17th century onwards, the events would be recorded not only by the Blackfoot Confederacy and the Stoney and Tsuu T'ina nations as an integral part of their oral history, but also by White explorers and traders as they sought an overland passageway to the Orient, carried furs for the European market, and ultimately mapped and surveyed the land for future European settlement.

Fur Traders and Explorers

As the beaver stock was depleted in the eastern colonies, the French and British fur traders were forced to move westward in their endeavours to secure more and more beaver pelts for the lucrative and highly fashionable trend in Europe, men's beaver hats. The fur traders and explorers who ventured westward travelled into a land occupied by First Nations but claimed by European explorers in the name of their British or French Monarch. Within the context of European international law, the Indian Territories, of which the prairies were a part, became part of the British colonial empire; and in 1670 a group of London entrepreneurs incorporated as the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into the Hudson Bay—the Hudson's Bay Company—and subsequently received a Charter from Charles II for exclusive trading privileges within Rupert's Land and the North West. This territory, whose size at the time of signing was of undetermined dimensions, was defined in the Royal Charter as an area drained by waters flowing into Hudson Bay, James Bay, and the Hudson Strait. The British fur traders traveled southwesterly along the waterways from Hudson Bay and the French portaged from the Saint Lawrence River waterways, both moving into an area previously unexplored by and unknown to Europeans—the prairies. The Plains Indians, however, were aware of the Europeans through intertribal trade of European goods and customs. Goods traded by Europeans with First Nations along the Atlantic Seaboard in the east, the Alaska coastline, Hudson Bay, and the Gulf of Mexico became items of intertribal trade and gradually found their way into the interior of the continent. European trade items, such as kettles, knives, and trinkets, were in use on the prairies before the physical arrival of Europeans (Dempsey, 1997, p. 7). In an unpublished and undated document entitled *Lieutenant-Colonel Irvine and the North-West Mounted Police*, Edmund Morris referred to a meeting which took place in the area of the Cypress Hills between the police and the Crees, Saulteaux, Assiniboines, and Sitting Bull and his Sioux people. Morris stated, "The refugees, the Sioux, had with them their King George medals and they declared their fathers had always considered themselves British subjects" (PAM.MG.12.B2. Box2/4). The medals were certainly an indication not only of the Sioux's respect for the significance of the medal, but also of the distance the Sioux people had travelled over time. During the 18th and 19th centuries, the journals and maps kept by the explorers and traders who crisscrossed the prairies gave evidence of the growing contact between themselves and the Blackfoot Confederacy and the Stoney and Tsuu T'ina nations.

In 1690 Henry Kelsey left York Factory on a two-year journey to the southwest reaches of the Hudson's Bay Company Charter area "to call, encourage and invite the remoter Indians" to bring their furs to Hudson Bay posts and took with him "twenty pounds of Brazil tobacco, glass beads, hatchets and kettles" (Newman, p. 211) to be distributed both as gifts and for use as trade items with First Nations. After spending the winter in the area of present-day The Pas, Manitoba, Kelsey travelled westward to the area of present-day Saskatoon and, in so doing, was probably the first White person to travel the prairies. For the next 50 years, British and French fur traders sojourned across the prairie landscape and vied with each other for First Nation fur business. Between 1741 and 1751, the French fur traders from Montreal built a series of forts or trading houses, including Fort Bourbon at the mouth of the Saskatchewan River on Cedar Lake; Fort à la Corne, situated south of the junction of the North and South Saskatchewan rivers, an area frequented by the Blackfoot; as well as Fort La Jonquière, believed to be within sight of the Rocky Mountains and thus within Stoney territory. The French fur traders' purpose for building these forts was to "trade with the Indians" (McCullough & Maccagno, 1991, p. 7). This method of establishing a local trade center in the midst of First Nations territory was very profitable for the French. In contrast, the Hudson's Bay Company wanted Indian people to travel with their furs to the Hudson Bay area. In an attempt to entice the Aboriginal fur traders away from the French, in 1753 the Hudson's Bay Company sent Anthony Henday from York Factory to encourage the Plains Indians to bring their furs to Hudson Bay. The Blackfoot, not unlike other prairie tribes, preferred to trade their furs at the closest market rather than travel great distances to the British post on Hudson Bay; and when Henday asked the Blackfoot to transport their furs to Hudson Bay, his request was denied. They continued, instead, the practice of using an intermediary, usually the Cree, to transport their furs to the post on Hudson Bay (p. 10).

The success of the fur trade was dependent on the co-operation and supply of furs from Aboriginal people, and both the French and the British consistently courted First Nation trade. Matthew Cocking, who worked for the Hudson's Bay Company, travelled in the North West and wrote on December 2, 1772, that he, as others had, "endevoured [sic] to persuade two [Blackfoot] to accompany me on my return to the Fort; . . . but they said that they would be starved and were unacquainted with Canoes and mentioned the long distance" (Innis, 1999, p. 151). Cocking accepted their explanation and was convinced that the Blackfoot "can never be prevailed upon to undertake such journeys" (p. 151). The Hudson's Bay Company ultimately changed its trading pattern with First Nations rather than continue to lose a significant portion of the fur trade to those who established trade sites—posts and forts—within proximity of Aboriginal trade routes (Gough, 1988, p. xlvii). The defeat of the French at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham and the subsequent Treaty of Paris ended the French explorations and trade in the North West and left the Hudson's Bay Company as the main commercial entity and the quasi government in the vast territory of Rupert's Land.

The Hudson's Bay Company, despite its Royal Charter and its political and legal power, was not the only fur-trading company in the area. The potential wealth to be made in the fur trade attracted other fur-trading groups, and at times five or six companies competed for trade alliances with First Nations.

In the decade between 1754 and 1765, Professor A. S. Morton's unpublished notes of 1933 show that 13 parties of men, including the excursions of Anthony Henday of 1754/56 and 1759/60, were sent inland from York Factory, and that these parties did not include companies such as the North West Company or the XY Company (HBCA. Special File, Inland Traders). In 1776, Alexander Henry referred to the presence of numerous fur companies when he wrote in his Narrative, "four different interests were struggling for the Indian trade in the Sascatchiwaine [sic]" (McCullough & Maccagno, 1991, p. 12). The Hudson's Bay Company established a system of forts and posts on the

Saskatchewan River to serve as centers of trade with First Nation people, including the Blackfoot Confederacy and the Stoney and Tsuu T'ina people. The York Factory *Journal* recorded that on September 6, 1754, Anthony Henday met some Blackfoot Indians and that one month later, while 18 miles southeast of present-day Red Deer, he came into contact with the "great camps of the Archithinues," or Blackfoot (HBCA. Special File, Anthony Henday, 1754). The camp consisted of 200 tents pitched in two rows:

> At one end stood the buffalo hide lodge of the head chief, capable of seating 50 people. Attended by 20 elders, the Chief received Henday. Several pipes were lit and passed around without a word to break the silence: then boiled buffalo meat was circulated in baskets of woven grass and the honoured guest was presented with [buffalo tongues]. (HBCA.Special File, Anthony Henday, 1754)

The following day, September 7, 1754, Henday again met the Chief and requested, as Kelsey had done earlier, that some of the young Blackfoot men be allowed to return with him to York Factory. The Chief declined this request and stated that his people "could not live without buffalo meat or leave their horses"; furthermore, the Chief believed that "the people who went down to the settlements on the bay often starved on the journey" (HBCA.Anthony Henday, SF). Despite the refusal to travel to Hudson Bay, the Blackfoot traded goods with Henday. The Hudson's Bay, eager to encourage ongoing trade with the Blackfoot, sent Henday and Joseph Smith into Blackfoot country again in 1759 to establish and maintain trade with the Blackfoot Confederacy (HBCA.Anthony Henday SF). Twenty years later, Henday was still trading with the Blackfoot and wrote in his *Journal* "purchased 30 wolves' skins from the Blackfoot" (Innis, 1999, p. 139) and commented that others in his party had purchased beaver, fox pelts, and wolf skins from the Blackfoot. The association between Henday and the Blackfoot and other First Nations continued, as indicated by the June 22, 1790, entry in the Hudson's Bay Journal when Anthony Henday and Joseph Smith returned to the post "at the head of 61 canoes" loaded with furs (HBCA.239/a/47,fol.30).

James Finlay, a Montreal trader with the North West Company, traveled the Saskatchewan River and wintered near the site of the old French trading post at Fort à la Corne from 1776 to 1777. He was followed by Thomas Corry (Curry), "who penetrated to the valley of the Saskatchewan" and spent the winters from 1771 to 1773 in the area. He subsequently returned to Montreal "with canoes filled with fine furs" (Wallace, 1934,

p. 434), evidence of his successful trade with the First Nations. The Aboriginal people not only traded furs but also provided the fur traders and explorers with food, usually pemmican to eat on their travels—often their main diet during winter excursions. The Europeans also learned survival skills from the Aboriginal people, such as the making of moss bread. Moss was soaked in water, cooked on stones overnight, and then formed into small cakes—a meal "acceptable to the hungry . . . in hard times" (Belyea, 1994, p. 235). The generosity of First Nations in providing food to the explorers and traders often determined whether or not they survived their sojourns. John Ogilvy and Thomas Thain, agents of the North West Company, acknowledged the importance of the First Nation people in their endeavors when they wrote Indian people "alone supply all the food on which the Company's servants subsist; without which they could be compelled to abandon three fourths of the country" (Innis, 1991, p. 236).

A continual and ever-increasing number of fur traders and explorers journeyed to the prairies, and if they did not always have direct contact with the Treaty 7 member nations, they met, camped, and dialogued with tribes with whom members of the Blackfoot Confederacy associated as they traveled their traditional routes across the prairies (see appendix A). The people of the Treaty 7 area traded, made treaties, mingled, and fought with other First Nations; the Plains Cree and the Stoneys were allies, and the Blackfoot Confederacy and the Plains Cree entered into peace treaties as well as trade agreements regarding hunting territories or the Crees' transporting the Blackfoot Confederacy furs to trading posts on Hudson Bay. Arrowsmith's map, published in London in 1811 and based on Thompson and Blackfoot maps, showed the Gros Ventres residing in the Red Deer River; and frequent references in explorers' and fur traders' journals or narratives referred to association between these people and the members of the Blackfoot Confederation (Tyrrell, 1916, p. 304). The Blackfoot also had contact with the Kootenay people, whom they were reported to have driven from the Belly River area further westward into the Rockies (p. 304). The Snake and Saleesh people were considered enemies of the Blackfoot, and occasional battles or skirmishes between them took place (p. 328). Iroquois and Ojibwa (Ottawa) fur traders moved west in the late 18th century and by the 1790s were regular visitors at Fort Edmonton, which became a frequent resting stop for those who traveled the prairies. The Treaty 7 members and other

First Nations traveled and interacted with other communities from the North Saskatchewan to the southern reaches of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers and from the present-day western area of Manitoba to the Lake Windermere area in the Rockies. Some of the trips were documented in the journals and narratives of the fur traders and explorers. In 1787 Thompson met some Peigan members at Manchester House (Paynton, Saskatchewan) (HBCA.B.121/a/1). While Peter Fidler "engaged a Blackfoot Chief to accompany 4 of [their] men as Guides to Edmonton House" (HBCA.B.34/a/1) and in 1802 Fidler recorded that the Blackfoot traveled to the Missouri River area to visit the Crow (HBCA.B.34/a/2). On November 8, 1807, the entry in the Hudson's Bay Journals mentioned that the Kootenays had arrived at Edmonton House after spending the summer in the Yellow River area (HBCA.B.60/a/6).

In 1775 Alexander Henry, a fur trader from Montreal, travelled the Saskatchewan River in an unsuccessful search for an overland passage to the west coast. His nephew, Alexander the Younger, was more successful during his 23-year sojourn with the North West Company, travelling from Lake Superior to the Pacific coast via the Columbia River. Alexander Henry the Younger was both an explorer and a fur trader and spent considerable time in the prairie region; at times, however, he complained that his mundane job was "to collect pounded meat and Grease as much as [he] could from the Meadow Indians" (Gough, 1988, p. xlviii)—the Blackfoot Confederacy. Despite his complaints, Henry was committed to work with the North West Company and recognized that his success as a trader was dependent upon the First Nations. He wrote in his Journal:

> Let no white man be so vain as to believe than an Indian really esteems him or supposes him to be his equal; . . . their outward profession of respect and friendship proceed merely from the necessity under which they labour of having intercourse with us to procure their necessaries. (p. xxxv)

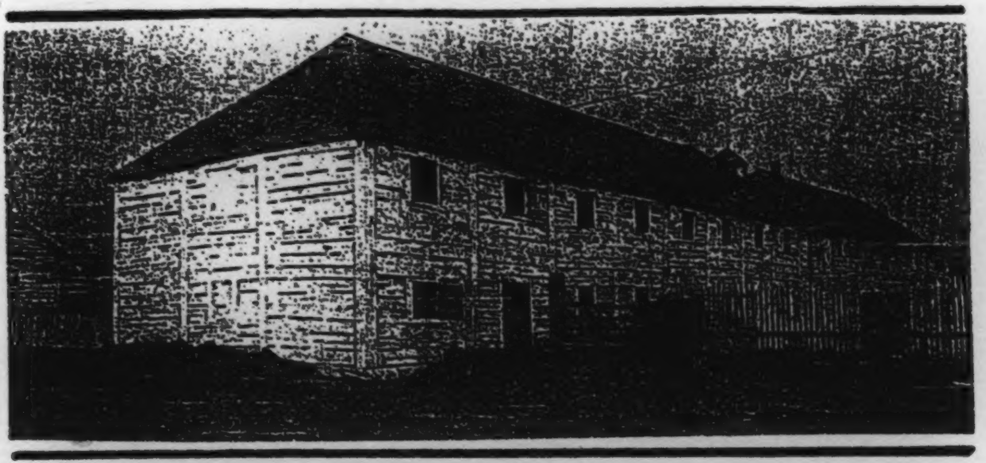
In July 1779 Peter Pond, who was both a map maker and a fur trader, returned to Cumberland House after his trading mission in the Athabasca area, his canoes loaded with "upwards of 8400 Beaver" pelts (McCullough & Maccagno, 1991, p. 20). More important for Peter Pond's survival, he "obtained as much provisions as required during his residence in Athabasca Country and sufficient for his homeward" trip (p. 20).

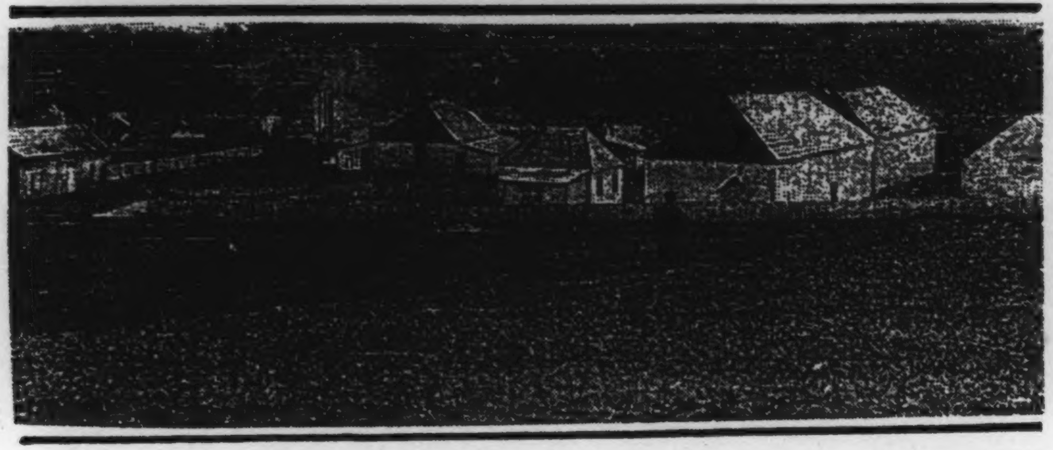
Peter Fidler, a fur trader and surveyor with the Hudson's Bay Company, spent the winter with the Peigans, in the area where the Highwood River enters the Bow River

(HBCA.Bow River Area SF). During his travels in the foothills, he journeyed in the area of the Bow and Belly Rivers and referred to Chief Mountain by its Blackfoot name. Close to Chief Mountain he met and traded with the Kootenay Indians (HBCA Bow River Area SF). In 1792 Peter Fidler helped establish Buckingham House and travelled during the summer from Fort Edmonton to the Pembina River and to Red Deers Lake (Lac La Biche) where "fell in with all the . . . Indians" (McCullough & Maccagno, 1991, p. 56). Fidler's *Report* of his travels and map-making expedition of 1792-1793 described his journey along the Rocky Mountain foothills, and he included copies of Blackfoot maps depicting the tributaries of the upper Missouri River (Belyea, 1994, p. 195). Fidler also made copies of five Blackfoot maps and wrote that "Indian map(s) convey much information where European documents fail; and on some occasions are of much use, especially since they shew [sic] where such and such rivers and other remarkable places are" (p. 226) Similarly, in 1807 David Thompson told of obtaining maps from the Kootenays while at Kootenay House. He recorded that the Kootenays "drew me a Sketch of their Country, & near the sea [Pacific Ocean], which they say I may go to from hence and be back in a month's hence, were it summer Time" (p. 227). Later he commented that he received another map and wrote, "Native maps were drawn with charcoal on skin or bark, or with a stick on the ground" (p. 227).

The first site of Fort Edmonton (Edmonton House) was established in 1795 on the North Saskatchewan River. It became a centre for the Hudson's Bay Company trade and a destination for Blackfoot and Peigan trading endeavours (see photographs 5-1 & 5-2). On March 12, 1798, the Edmonton House *Journal* recorded that "Blood and Muddy river [Peigan] Indians arrived, 83 able men and about 300 women and children" (HBCA B.60/a/3). For close to a century the Treaty 7 people would travel to and trade at Edmonton as well as other posts, as evidenced by Fidler's 1778 report from Chesterfield House, in 1798, that "a large gang of Blood Indians came in" to the post (HBCA.B34/a/1). By the turn of the century the Saskatchewan River was "heavily travelled by horsemen, canoe-bourne traders, and . . . York Boats" (Gough, 1988, p. 1).

David Thompson was initially a Hudson's Bay Company surveyor from 1784-1797 and later joined the North West Company. He kept diaries during the 30 years he crisscrossed Rupert's Land, mapping the rivers on his journey to the Pacific Ocean. He





Photograph 5-1. Fort Edmonton, 1803.

Photograph 5-2. Fort Edmonton, ca. 1870s.

(Courtesy Provincial Archives of Manitoba) recorded his impressions, at the height of the fur trade expansion, of the landscape; details of the geographical aspects of the land, including maps of the waterways; and the daily business of the fur trade. He left a written account of his contact with the Aboriginal people with whom he lived and relied upon for food and directions necessary for his mapping expeditions. In 1787 he wintered with the Peigans in the Rocky Mountain foothills and five years later camped with them again and traded for wolf skins (Tyrrell, 1916, p. xxx). Thompson recorded that between October 5 and October 23, 1800, he and his six travelling companions, while travelling with the Kootanaes, had a "Pekenow Indian as a guide" and met "several Blood Indians going to trade" (Belyea, 1994, p. 3) in the Clear Water River area. The same year, on November 22 he again encountered Blood Indians, this time on the south side of the Bow River. "On seeing the Indians, we made Signs to them & a Horseman turned about & came towards us. . . . [They] smoked with him. . . . We set off & went down along the River" (p. 14). Later the same day Thompson and his men camped near the junction of the Spitchee (Highwood) and Bow Rivers and that evening were visited by

> Sac o tow wow, the principal Chief of the Pekenows [sic]. He spoke to us upon several subjects—about the Kootanaes &c &c; he complained of our having armed them by which means the Flat Heads would also acquire Arms to their great Hurt. To this I replied that they themselves, the Pekenows, had first & principally armed the Kootanaes in exchange for Horses, &c, &c replied to all other parts of his argument. (p. 15)

Thompson also recorded that during his conversation with the Chief of the Peigans, he informed him that he had received a request to bring a group of Iroquois and Seauteaux to live in the area of the "woody Hills at the foot of the Mountain," but before agreeing to do so, he wished to learn the reaction of the Peigans to this request (p. 15). The Chief of the Peigans agreed to the Iroquois and Seauteaux residing in the foothills, and, subsequently, Thompson and his men joined the Peigans in smoking the Pipe. Thompson also gave "a few pints of mixed Rum to Drink" (p. 15) to each of the Peigan men. Sometimes encounters were not as friendly; in 1805 Lewis and Clark who traveled through the southern outreaches of the Blackfoot Confederacy territory, simply recorded that they killed a Peigan (p. 849).

Duncan McGillivray of the North West Company led two explorations from Rocky Mountain House in 1800-1801 in an attempt to reach the Pacific Ocean. Six years later, in 1807, Thompson crossed the watershed of the continental divide and spent the next five years in the area as he mapped the navigable route through the Rocky Mountains via the Athabasca Pass to the Pacific. During this time he also mapped the Columbia River and located trade houses or forts as locations for First Nation people to trade furs (Belyea, 1994, pp. xi). The trading posts also became centres for contact and the exchange of information between First Nations and Euro-Canadians. Thompson described one such meeting, which took place on September 25, 1807:

> A fine cloudy day. The two Chiefs of the Kootanaes & Lake Indians arrived. They smoked; in the course of conversation they informed me that in the month of July a large Party of Peagans [sic], Blood & Blackfoot Indians had come on this Side the Mountains, to where they were tenting with a camp of Saleesh & Shawpatin Indians. The Peagans [sic] said they & their Allies were come by order & request to make Peace with The Saleesh & Shawpatin Indians—that they all remained about 6 or 7 Days peaceably smoking, each Party having agreed upon a mutual Oblivion of all past injuries, & even for the future to act as Friends & Allies, without any reserve whatever. (p. 69)

On September 25, 1807, Thompson learned from the Chief of the Flat Bows that two or three months earlier the Meadow Indians (the Blackfoot Confederacy) along with the Atsina had "pillaged Fort Augustus" (in the Fort Edmonton area) and that the Blackfoot "were possessed of many guns, much Ammunition" (Belyea, 1994, p. 228). Thompson recorded that some of the Blackfoot were opposed to the traders in their territory and wished to cut off their trade route; however, one of the Blackfoot Chiefs visited Thompson and stated that "his Country Men all wish sincerely for Peace, that having been long accustomed to be supplied with Brandy Tobacco &c these articles are becoming objects of primary necessity to them" (p. 228). Nevertheless, David Thompson believed that "it must be their [the Peigans'] Policy to be highly displeased with us for being here" in their territory and recognized that the Peigan had "it in their power to be very troublesome to us and even cut us off" (p. 62) from the supply of furs. The Blackfoot Confederacy certainly controlled where and with whom they traded, as evidenced from entries in the Hudson's Bay Company's *Journals*. John Rowand in the

Edmonton District Report, 1825, stated that the Peigans had a successful beaver hunt but "had no intention of coming with them to Edmonton" (HBCA B.60/a/23).

Thompson spent the winter of 1807-1808 at Kootenay House, traded freely with the Kootenay, and while there traded for meat with the Peigans. He and his men smoked with the Peigans, which was an accepted practice between First Nations and fur traders when they transacted business (Belyea, 1994, p. 230). In August 1809 Thompson's travels took him along the Saleesh River, and he wrote in his *Narrative* that he and his men had breakfast in an area where the Peigans "crossed and re-crossed often" (p. 105) and that they had recently been in the area. The following month he recorded that he was searching for the possibility of a mountain portage rather than travel through the open land of the Meadow Indians (Blackfoot Confederacy) (p. 111). McCullogh and Maccagno (1991) argued that Thompson's attempt to cross the Rockies without coming into contact with the Peigans led to "his most important and notable pioneering" (p. 85)—his identifying of the Athabasca pass over the Continental Divide.

Thompson's *Journal* also recorded the sickness and death among the Blackfoot Confederacy and other Tribes. On September 4, 1807, he recorded that some Peigans and Kootenay had visited Kootenay House and that some of their people were ill with distemper and several children had died (Belyea, 1994, pp. 63-64). He also recorded in his *Journal* an account told to him by an old trader of the 1781 smallpox epidemic among the western tribes:

> None of us had the least idea of the desolation this dreadful disease had done, until we . . . looked into the tents, in many of which they were all dead, and the stench was horrid; Those that remained . . . were in such a state of despair and despondence that they could hardly converse with us. . . . From what we could learn, three fifths had died under the disease. (p. 124)

The Aboriginal population had no immunity to these diseases, because they had had no exposure to such illnesses prior to the time of European contact.

The "Peigan-Salish War in the summer of 1807 and other battles between the Blackfoot Confederacy and their enemies were noted in Thompson's *Narrative*. He commented that

> it must be acknowledged, however, that this determined hostility does not originate solely in savage malignity; . . . it is fomented and kept alive from year to year by incessant provocations on the part of white hunters, trappers, who are at best but intruders on the rightful domains of the red man of the wilderness. (Belyea, 1994, p. 286)

Thompson had significant contact with the Peigans and was aware of the Blackfoot Confederacy, and he also recorded his contact with the Stoneys. He referred to them as being a large "tribe of the Sieux [sic] Nation" (Tyrrell, 1916, p. 326) who formed an alliance with their Cree neighbours. Thompson estimated the population of the Stoney tribe at the turn of the 18th century as numbering "400 Tents each containing about eight Souls, in all 3,200" people; similarly, he estimated that the "Sussees" (Tsuu T'ina) "consisted of 90 tents and about 650 Souls" (p. 327). Thompson had initially met the Stoneys while wintering at Red Deers Lake in 1797. He recorded at that time that 30 Stoneys, along with a similar number of Cree, came to trade at the North West Company post. He met the Stoneys and commented on the advice that they received from them:

> We came to five tents of Stone Indians, who as usual received us with kindness; they did not approve of our journey to the Missisourie [sic] and informed us, that some skirmishes had taken place between the Madane and Sieux [sic] Indians. (p. 212)

While travelling in the winter months, Thompson and his men again met a camp of eight Stoney tents. The people treated Thompson and his men "with hospitality; and each of us got a good meal" (Tyrrell, 1916, p. 214) and also received advice. Thompson wrote in his *Narrative* that the Stoneys "advised us to leave the usual load; cut wood, and haul it with us to make a fire for two nights" (p. 218) as they made their journey to the Missourie. A decade later, on November 19, 1810, Thompson mentioned that while crossing a Brook "in the snow clad mountains" of the Athabasca region, he met "4 Tents of Stone Indians" (Belyea, 1994, p. 123) who had been in the area for two months.

By 1811 Thompson and Peter Fidler had "opened the way for settlement" (McCullough & Maccagno, 1991, p. 83), having mapped and surveyed much of the North West as well as establishing a trading network which consisted of the Hudson's Bay Company posts utilizing the North and South Saskatchewan Rivers, and the North West Company had "firmly established itself on the shores of Lesser Slave Lake" (p. 83) and used the Lac La Biche portage route. Both routes witnessed the "ever-increasing traffic" and the early settlement of "freemen and "vagabonds" (p. 83) in the Lesser Slave Lake, Lac La Biche, and North Saskatchewan River areas as Métis and Euro-Canadian settlement began to take root on the northern outreaches of Treaty 7 traditional territory and travel routes. Trading posts became permanent fixtures on the prairie landscape. Some posts existed for only a winter or so, such as the Red Deer River Post, where Blackfoot traded during the winter of 1812; the Rocky Mountain Post, which operated sporadically from 1799; and the growing Fort House, where in October 1808 several Blood Indians arrived (HBCA.B.60/a/8) followed by another "party of Blood Indians [who] arrived with dogs," traded, and then returned to the Belly River (HBCA. B.60/a/12). The posts were centres for ongoing contact, trade, exchange of information and dialogue among First Nations and between First Nations and the various fur traders.

The trading posts also established a system of communication in which information and correspondence were sent between forts/posts. The posts relied upon Aboriginal people to transport the material from post to post. On October 4, 1799, "two Indian young men arrived from Edmonton House with letters from Messers Fidler, Hallet, Prudan, Gaddy & Flett" (HBCA.B/60/a/5). The Hudson's Bay *Journa*l recorded that on November 8, 1807, "the Cootenaha's [sic] delivered Mr. Thompson a paper given them [when on a visit to a more southerly Tribe] by the Americans" (HBCA.B.60/a/6). The *Journal* noted that the letter was signed by James Roseman, Lieutenant at Fort Lewis, Yellow River on July 10, 1807. In September 1811 Peter Fidler recorded in the Chesterfield House *Journal* that an Indian was sent "on horse back with letters" (HBCA.60/a/10). On December 21, 1822, the Fort Edmonton *Journal* recorded that "2 Black feet [sic] Indians arrived from the S. Branch [Bow River] with letters from the Gentleman in charge of that place" (HBCA.B.60/a/21). The following year, the Edmonton House *Journal* recorded the arrival of a group of Peigans and that "one of the Chiefs had a note of recommendation from some clerks in the Missouri Fur Co. addressed from Jefferson's river 40 miles above the 3 forks 19/May/1823" (HBCA.B60/a/21). In September 1811 the Bay's *Journal* recorded that an Indian was sent on horse back with letters (HBCA.60/a/10).

Changing Times: American Hunters, the Demise of the Buffalo and the Trans-border Liquor Trade

In 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company joined together as one company. The merger, however, did not eliminate competition. The American fur companies began to jockey with the Hudson's Bay Company for business with the Blackfoot Confederacy, whose buffalo robes and beaver pelts became a highly sought-after commodity. The rise and fall of trading posts in what is today Southern Alberta reveals the extent to which the various fur companies went to trade with the Blackfoot Confederacy and the Stoney and Tsuu T'ina nations and how their intense lobbying affected the people of the Treaty 7 area.

Rocky Mountain House was originally established as a centre of trade with the Kootenay; however, it became the primary location for trade with the Peigans (Macleod, 1943, p. 273). Simpson wrote, on April 10, 1832, to the London head office of the Hudson's Bay Company:

> The most valuable tribe that visits us on this River [North Saskatchewan] is the Peigan or Muddy River Indians, a very powerful nation who occupy the skirts of the mountains to the southward, making excellent Beaver skins in that quarter, and collecting a number of furs from their neighbours the Blackfeet [sic]. These Indians [Peigans] have been our best customers for many years, and were very friendly and well disposed to us; . . . or their accommodation we maintain the Rocky Mountain House [post]. (HBCA.D4/99f/42d)

The presence of American settlers and fur traders on the Missouri River and within the traditional travel routes of the Blackfoot Confederacy disrupted the flow of furs, from the Peigans and their fellow Blackfoot nations, to the Hudson's Bay post at Rocky Mountain House. By 1808 American fur traders were operating on the Missouri and in 1810 built a post at the Three Forks of the Missouri River; by 1823 a trading post was in operation on the Jefferson River; Fort Union was built at the mouth of the Yellowstone in 1828, which was for the Hudson's Bay Company evidence "that the Americans are establishing themselves in a place calculated to attract and draw off the Piegans [sic], so as to afford them a favorable opportunity of bartering their furs" (HBCA.B.60/a/24). As an indication of its commitment to trade with the Blackfoot Confederacy, the American Fur Company built Fort Peigan in 1832, and the fur trading relationship between the Americans and the people of Treaty 7 was secured (HBCA.Bow River SF). The Peigans traded "three thousand beaver pelts" during the first year that Fort Peigan was in operation (Macleod, 1943, p. 275). The Americans subsequently built Fort McKenzie farther up the Missouri River, and until 1845 it was the centre for trade with the Blackfoot Confederacy (Belyea, 1994, p. 276).

Concerned about the loss of trade, particularly from the Peigan, the Hudson's Bay Company initially requested James Bird to entice the Peigans away from the American Fur Company posts on the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers, but with no success. In the May 14, 1825, entry in the Edmonton District Report, John Rowland recorded that, knowing that the Peigans had a successful hunt, he "dispatched Henry Fisher, an interpreter and two men to the Peigan camp" (HBCA.B.60/a/23) to ask them to bring their furs to Fort Edmonton. The Peigans declined the invitation "due to the distance" (HBCA.B.60/a/23). Undaunted, John Rowland who was the Chief Factor, initiated a 20-person expedition for "the purpose of ascertaining the cause of the Peigans having left off trading with us" (HBCA.B.60/a/27/1/pa), because the Blackfoot Confederacy no longer brought any significant quantity of furs to Fort Edmonton or Rocky Mountain House. As a result of the investigation and in an effort to regain the trade edge with the Peigans, the decision was made to build a post closer to the centre of Blackfoot Confederacy territory. The Hudson's Bay Company thus constructed Peigan Post on the Bow River in 1832. The Rocky Mountain House Post was closed with the opening of the new post. However, although the Peigan Post was staffed by approximately 20 Company employees whose responsibility was to attract and maintain trade with the Peigans, and although the Peigans visited Peigan post, they failed to convince the Peigans to change their trading patterns. Consequently, Peigan Post was closed in 1834 as a result of "lack of success in recovering from the Americans the trade with the Blackfoot tribes" (Macleod, 1943, p. 279). In 1835 the Company reopened Rocky Mountain House; however, trade would fluctuate, and Rocky Mountain House would be closed from time to time. In 1839 the Hudson's Bay Company

> decided not to make any further attempts either by establishing posts or sending servants to trade with the members of the Blackfoot nation . . . [because] by 1839 American traders were well established on the headwaters of the Missouri river and held an advantageous position near the hunting grounds of those Indians. . . .

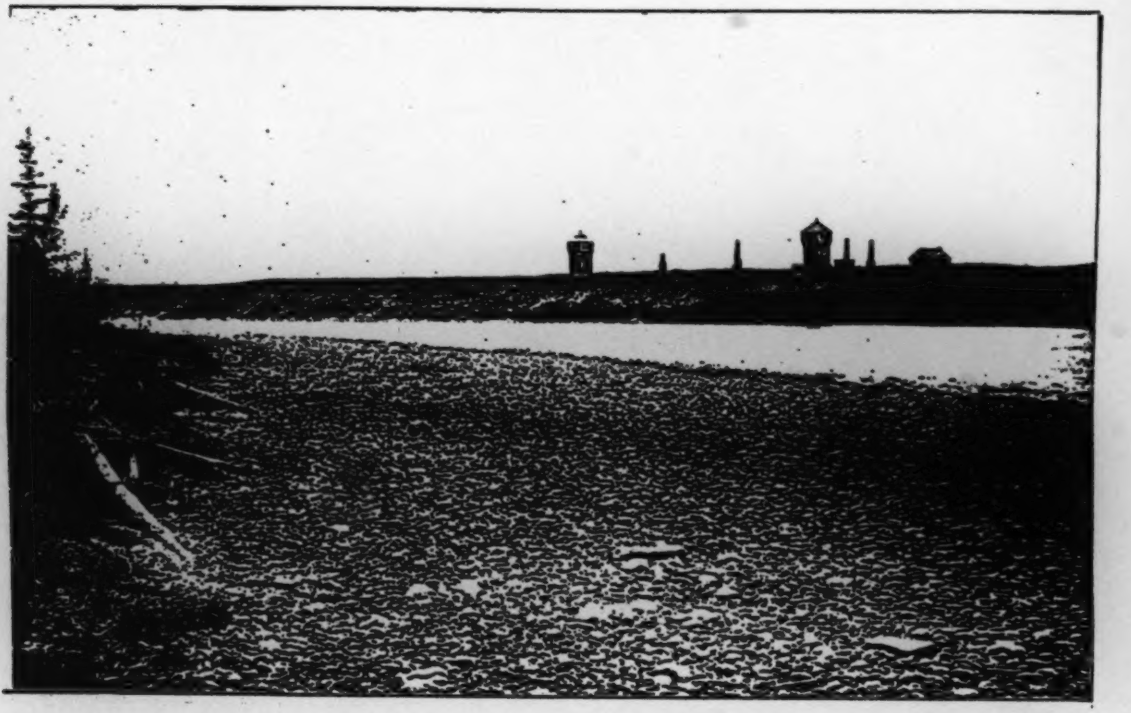
> When the American posts [were] established [there was] no longer any need for them to travel to the North Saskatchewan River to trade. (HBCA.Bow River Area SF)

The defection of the Blackfoot Confederacy trade to the Americans was serious enough to warrant discussion in London. In recognition of the gravity of the situation, Major Pilcher suggested to George Simpson that the Hudson's Bay Company join with the Missouri Fur Company in order to "exploit the fur trade in Blackfoot country," a proposal which "Simpson very properly rejected" (*The Hudson's Bay Record Society*, 1886, p. xliii). The operation of the Rocky Mountain Post became sporadic at best, and in 1848 George Simpson notified the Company's office in London that Rocky Mountain House Post had been "abandoned as the Blackfeet [sic] had intimated their intention to trade with the Americans on the Missourie [sic]" (HBCA.Simpson to HBC London, June 27, 1848). One of the Hudson's Bay Company employees lamented in a letter dated January 4, 1875, that

> our great disadvantage we labor under in supplying the [Blackfoot Confederacy traders] is the distance that supplies have to be carted to; while on the other hand the American Traders can throw in what are the most essential articles of trade from Benton, at very short notices. Want of horses for the trade is another drawback to us; the Indians invariably first come to the Company, but where we have none to dispose of, they go elsewhere and the Americans are well supplied. (HBCA.D.14/15)

Although Rocky Mountain House Post was reopened from 1861-1864, it was closed permanently in 1875 (see photograph 5-3), unable to respond to the changing trade requirements and "due to lack of visits from Indians" (B.235/k/4fos3,12d).

Fort Edmonton was a thriving centre for the western fur trade, and the Company profits continued to rise (*1870 Report to the Shareholders*, p. 5). For the people of the Treaty 7 area, the arrival of the American fur companies in their traditional hunting area and ultimately within their very midst would have significant repercussions. At the beginning of the 19th century it was estimated that 65 million buffalo roamed the prairies; however, the competition for buffalo hides led to the unscrupulous killing of the animals. Between 1870 and 1875 two-and-a-half million buffalo were being slaughtered annually (Reid, 1992, p. 22). Where once the prairies had appeared black with thousands of buffalo, the extinction of the buffalo was considered by many as imminent. Charles



Photograph 5-3. Ruins of Rocky Mountain House Post.

(Tyrell, 1916, p. 89)

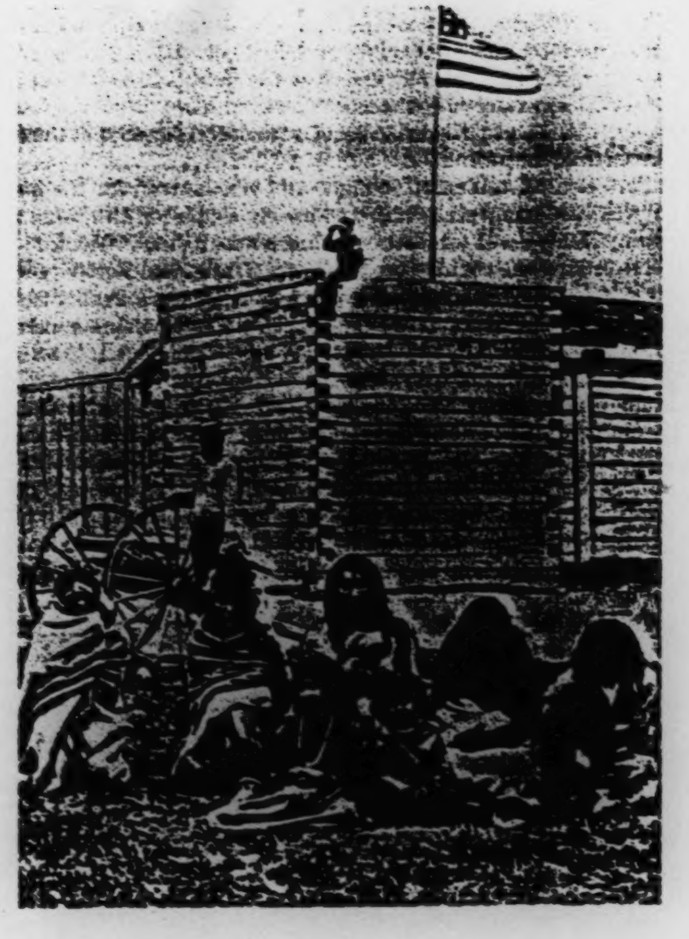
Bell wrote in 1874 that "in 4 or 5 years there will not be a Buffalo in Dominion Territory" (PAM.MG12.B1.Box3/13). The people of Treaty 7, to whom the buffalo were the staff of life, faced starvation and the end of their community life. In 1875 the United States of America General Philip Sheridan was reported to have told the Texas legislature that "the buffalo hunters have done in the last two years and will do more in the next year to settle the vexed Indian question than the entire regular army has done in the last 30 years" (Reid, 1992, p. 22). In April I876 the Department of the Interior of the Canadian government completed its *Report of the Sub Committee for the Preservation of the Buffalo in the North West.* The Minister of Indian Affairs, David Laird, was a member of the Sub Committee, whose *Report* recognized that

> the threatened early extinction of the Buffalo is a question of grave importance to the North West Territories; . . . the flesh of that animal formed the principal means of subsistence of several of the Indian tribes . . . [and that] radical measure must be adopted if the total destruction of the Buffalo race is to be stopped. (*Report of the Sub Committee*, 1877, (NAC.RG.Vol.3641.File 7530. pp. 1-4)

The *Report* submitted a number of recommendations, including federal legislation, to regulate the hunt in order to protect the buffalo for the use of Aboriginal people "until they can gradually acquire the knowledge necessary for them to raise stock and cultivate the land" (p. 3). No significant follow-up to the *Report* appears to have been taken; however, as of 1893 the North West Mounted Police were officially empowered to protect the buffalo, but enforcement did not occur until 1911 (Reid, 1992, p. 22). At the turn of the century there were only a few hundred buffalo remaining on the prairies.

Edmund Morris wrote that the Blackfoot were "demoralized" by the slaughter of the buffalo and that American hunters in Canadian territory (ca. 1869) secured "50,000 buffalo robes, worth, say, $8. each, or $400,000. And to which may be added $100,000 for other furs, or a total of $500,000. They [American hunters] sell whiskey, breech loaders, etc.…to the Indians" (NAC.MG12/B2.Box2/4). The use of liquor as a trade item for buffalo furs had devastating effects on the Treaty 7 people. Liquor became "the chief article of trade on the plains" as indicated in Richard Hardisty's letter written from Fort Edmonton on January 4, 1876 to J. A. Graham, to the Chef Commissioner at Fort Garry (HBCA.D.14/12). The Hudson's Bay Company had in 1828 resolved that "the use of spirituous liquor be gradually discontinued and that the Indians be liberally supplied with the requisite necessities, particularly with articles of ammunition" (Rich, 1940, p. 222) in order to improve the conditions of First Nation people. Company employees caught trading or supplying liquor were subject to criminal prosecution. The American government had also restricted the use of liquor as a medium of trade; however, American fur traders crossing into Canadian territory had no inhibitions regarding trading liquor for furs in Canadian territory (see appendix D). Charles Bell, in 1874, wrote that the American hunters "came in increasing numbers every year, they are coming into the [Blackfoot] hunting grounds from all quarters" (PAM.MG12.B1.Box3/13). A trail of Whiskey Posts, the most notorious of which was Fort Whoop-Up, were established by the American traders travelling north from the American border to the edge of the camp grounds of the Blackfoot Confederacy (see photograph 5-4). By early 1874 Crowfoot, Chief of the Moccasin band, wrote that the "whiskey brought by the Traders is fast killing us off" and that his people were "unable to pitch [a tent] anywhere that the Traders cannot follow us" (Dempsey, 1971, p. 16). George McDougall, the Methodist missionary, wrote to Lieutenant Governor Alexander Morris that the Crees had informed him that they did not want traders bringing "spirits into our country" (PAM.MG.12.B1.Box5/13). By the mid-1870s, the government for the Indian Territories or the North-West Territories fully recognized that "the Indians do not wish to have any liquor in the country" (PAM.MG12.B1.Box3/13).

For the people of Treaty 7, prairie grass fires, the disappearance of the buffalo, and the unfettered whiskey trade were compounded by the smallpox epidemic of 1869. By the spring of 1870 the dreaded disease had resulted in the death of an estimated 1,000 Peigans, 600 Blood, and a similar number of Blackfoot; and the number of lodges of the Tsuu T'ina were reduced from 50 to 12 (Dempsey, 1972, p. 60). The large number of deaths within the Blackfoot Confederacy was repeated in other First Nation communities, a gruesome fact which is reflected in the Hudson's Bay Company's 1871 *Report*, though from a different perspective. In 1871 the Hudson's Bay Company's *Report to the shareholders* wrote:



Photograph 5-4. Fort Whoop-Up, ca. 1872.

(Hunt, 1993, p. 50)

> We are compelled to express regret that the [furs] are somewhat below the average [this year], . . . and very unfortunately, this has been a year in which there has been a very serious outbreak of smallpox amongst the Indians. The effect of which was of course to diminish to a certain extent the number of persons who could be relied upon for the hunting. (*1870 Report to the Shareholders*, p. 1)

The *Report to the shareholders* covered the 1869-1870 accounting period and revealed that the "diminished number of furs resulted in the decline of the Company's profits from the previous year from £53,321 to £27,356 (*1870 Report to the Shareholders*, p. 5).

Within a generation, the people of Treaty 7 had witnessed the erosion of their traditional lifestyle linked to the buffalo, and their business partnership with the fur traders was replaced by the abundant flow of whiskey; the geographic isolation of the prairies was no more. Decisions were made thousands of miles away in Ottawa, the capital city of the new nation of Canada, and events would have further implications for the Blackfoot Confederacy (see appendix B). On December 16, 1867, in an *Address to Her Majesty the Queen, from the Senate and House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada*, Canada requested that in order to "promote the prosperity of the Canadian people . . . the Dominion of Canada . . . [be] extended westward to the shores of the Pacific Ocean" (Owram, 1979, p. 21). To accomplish this, Canada asked the British Privy Council "to unite Rupert's Land and the North-western Territory with this Dominion" and stated that

> upon the transference of the territories in question to the Canadian Government, the claims of the Indian tribes to compensation for lands required for purposes of settlement will be considered and settled in conformity with the equitable principles which have uniformly governed the British Crown in its dealings with the aborigines. (pp. 21-22)

By Statute of the United Kingdom, the Rupert's Land Act, 1868, enabled Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, "to accept a Surrender upon Terms of the Lands, Privileges, and Rights" of "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay [and] for admitting the same into the Dominion of Canada" (Owram, 1979, p. 22). Canada paid £3000,000 to the Hudson's Bay Company for the territory which stretched from the province of Ontario to the Rocky Mountains. The land of the Blackfoot Confederacy and the Stoney and Tsuu T'ina nations was located at the western outreaches of the new Canadian territory. Within a span of 140 years The People had witnessed the end of the Dog Days and their supremacy as riders of the prairies, from partnerships in the fur trade to the demise of the buffalo. A new era of change and challenge was now before them in which the fervor of missionaries, explorers, and a new nation, the Dominion of Canada, supported by a semi-military force, sought to propagate their political and social institutions from sea to sea. Christian missionary societies, whether Catholic or Protestant, brought the promise of eternal salvation and the learning of the "White man," and the North-West Mounted Police instituted British justice and "law and order" in the territories as Canada's national aspiration sought to stretch from sea to sea (see appendix C).

CHAPTER VI

A SENSE OF MISSION

From the 1840s onward, a number of diverse individuals and various groups traveled to the Treaty 7 area. Some, such as missionaries, represented Roman Catholic and Protestant church organizations; surveyors were sent on behalf of the British and Canadian governments; prospectors, artists, big-game hunters, and adventurers pursued their own interests; and the largest group, the North-West Mounted Police, a semi-military force, moved into the territory in 1874. Collectively, these people would have a significant impact on the lifestyle of the Treaty 7 people and ultimately have the greatest influence on discussions at Blackfoot Crossing and the signing of Treaty 7. The newcomers, who were usually British, Canadian, Métis, or American, stayed a few days, months, a year, or took up permanent residence in the area. Regardless of their place of birth or length of stay, their common goal was one of change: to convert the Treaty 7 people to Christianity, to replace the language and customs of the First Nation people with European customs and the English language, to establish British law and order, and to change the sparsely populated territory into a land of economic opportunity for Euro-Canadian settlers. Others, came to paint and record the community life, dress, and customs of prairie First Nation people before, they believed, the lifestyle of the Indians passed away (Eaton & Urbanek, 1995, p. 56). In 1853, John Mix Stanley painted the Blackfoot playing A Game of Chance with European playing cards, while Paul Kane met the Blackfoot during his painting excursion to the west between 1846-1848. Regardless of the purpose of their western travels, all undertook their tasks with commitment and a sense of mission.

An Invitation to Missionaries

In 1840 the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company invited the Wesleyan Methodist Church in England to send missionaries to the western outreaches of its territory in British North America. The Company offered support in the area of transportation, room and board, use of Company interpreters, and £50 per year in return for "missionary operations among the settlers and native tribes" (Nix, 1960, p. 9). The

British Wesleyan Conference accepted the offer and arranged for four of its ministers to travel to the most westerly portion of the Hudson's Bay Territory, there to assume the responsibility "in a spiritual way" (United Church of Canada, 1940, p. 14) for both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people of the territory.

Reverend Robert Terrill Rundle

One of the four, the newly ordained Reverend Robert Terrill Rundle answered the call to spread the Gospel to the western outreaches of the Company—Fort Edmonton and Rocky Mountain House Post. Embarking on a six-month journey, he sailed from Liverpool on March 16, 1840. His trip took him first to New York, on to Montreal, and overland to Norway House, where he stayed for two months, then reached his final destination, Fort Edmonton, on October 18, 1840. Sir George Simpson, Governor-in-Chief of the Hudson's Bay Company, wrote to John Rowand, Chief Factor at Fort Edmonton, to inform him of Rundle's expected arrival and to ensure

> that he may be treated with kindness, . . . hospitality, . . . respect, . . . and you will afford him the necessary facilities to establish a school at the fort, both for the children of the post and of such children of the surrounding tribes as may be induced to benefit by the missionary's instruction. (Dempsey, 1977, p. xxx)

For the next eight years the Reverend Rundle made his home base at the fort as he travelled throughout the area to the camps of the Cree, Stoney, and people of the Blackfoot Confederacy. Although in many ways Rundle was a unique character, he was also representative of the missionaries, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, who followed him. Moving outwards from Fort Edmonton, he traveled north to Lesser Slave Lake, southwest to Rocky Mountain House and the Banff area, to the Blackfoot camps on the Bow River, and southeast to his favorite location, Battle River Lake. Like other men of the cloth, he engaged interpreters for religious services—sermons, baptisms, marriages, and burial services—and also when teaching children and adults the Western educational practices of reading and writing.

Although interpreters were available to Rundle, he, like other early missionaries and priests, attempted to learn Aboriginal languages. Rundle found his early attempt to speak Cree frustrating; in May 1843 he wrote to his friend, Reverend Evans in Norway House, "I can now stammer a little Cree," though be believed he wrote "fluently" in Cree syllabics (Dempsey, 1977, p. 131). His desire to master Cree and dispose of interpreters was reflected in his *Journal* entry in 1845, in which he commented that he "wish[ed] to be fluent in Cree" (p. 184). Later in the year, his *Journal* entries revealed that his efforts were accomplishing his goal, for on occasion he gave his sermon in Cree and also referred to having conducted prayers in Stoney (pp. 173-184). Rundle referred to Cree and Blackfoot as being "the two great languages in this district" (Saskatchewan), but he did not gain any proficiency in Blackfoot, though towards the end of his sojourn he used syllabics to translate the Lord's Prayer into Blackfoot. He wrote of his effort, however, that "it is not correctly written or I did not read it right" (p. 265).

Interpreters were available through the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Rundle usually engaged James "Jimmy Jock" Bird as the interpreter when meeting with the people of the Blackfoot Confederacy. From time to time, however, the relationship between the two men was strained over issues relating to translation. He wrote in his *Journal* that when Bird "interpreted in Blackfoot, . . . as usual he spoke a little by himself, I believe" (Dempsey, 1977, p. li). Bird's freedom with the translation of his church services was not appreciated by Rundle, for although he recognized Bird's "great abilities as an interpreter," he commented further that Bird "was not content to simply interpret; he spoke as well on his own initiative" (p. xxvii), which left Rundle unsure of whether or not his intended message had been imparted.

Rundle spent his first winter at Fort Edmonton and seems to have wasted little time in carrying out his spiritual duties, as his daily accounts in his *Journal* attest. He conducted regular Sunday services for the Hudson's Bay Company staff and with the services of an interpreter conducted services in Cree and Blackfoot when the latter visited the Fort. Rundle, however, preferred to spend his time with First Nation people in their communities, a preference which would not endear him to officials with the Company. In September 1841 he confirmed his understanding of his role with Sir George Simpson and wrote that he believed that he

> was at liberty to visit the Indians at their camps when they were located at any place and likely to remain for any length of time . . . [and] believe[d] that method would prove most effective amongst the Indians as their stay is generally so limited at the Forts. (Dempsey, 1977, pp. 86-87)

His commitment to visiting The People in their own locale was consistent throughout Rundle's eight years of service and is reflected in the amount of time he spent visiting First Nation communities. He spent approximately two thirds of his time travelling from camp to camp, living, eating, and sleeping in the tents of those he visited, and occupied his time preaching, encouraging hymn singing, and teaching syllabics, reading, and writing to those who were interested. He spent Easter 1841 with the Crees and the Stoneys at their camp and recorded that

> they [the Crees] can now sing Come to Jesus very well, and it is delightful to hear them. I have also taught it [the hymn] to the Assiniboines and translated it into their language and the two tribes sing it alternately. But the most striking part is when they all join in chorus. Hallelujah! Amen! They make the air ring with their melody. (Dempsey, 1977, p. xxvi)

Certainly, the larger portion of his time was spent among the Cree and the Stoney people; however, he also travelled among the people of the Blackfoot Confederacy. He seems to have had initial contact with members of the Blackfoot Confederacy in February 1841, when they visited Fort Edmonton to trade goods. At that time some of the Blackfoot attended his service, and he wrote afterwards that they responded "warmly to my visit" (Dempsey, 1977, p. 266). Later when he wrote to the Wesleyan Missionary Society his report revealed that he understood that the silence of the Blackfoot did not mean that they had accepted his message. He wrote, "The plain truth is that the Blackfoot have not as yet embraced Christianity" (p. 128). The passage of time gave Rundle an understanding of the Blackfoot's own religious practices. While staying at Rocky Mountain House in June 1847, he wrote that the Blackfoot had

> many gods; . . . the Sun, moon and stars are all worshipped by them with many objects in the animal creation. . . . Importance [is] attached to dreams; . . . according to their dreams so they worship; . . . spirits appear to them in their dreams. (p. 266)

Rundle was also cognizant of the reputation of the people of the Blackfoot Confederacy as fierce warriors, as evidenced by his comment that the Blackfoot were "so blackly painted in history and whose name alone is enough to cause alarm" (United Church, 1940, p. 21); nevertheless, while at Rocky Mountain House Post he arranged to meet with them at a later date. He commented in his *Journal* that

> the Indians expressed delight at my invitation to visit them at their camp and are anxious that I should come. The place appointed for the meeting is Bow River, where a large camp is expected to assemble; distance from here is 6 days journey. They loaded me with kindness and by their conduct completely won my affection. So this is termination of my first visit with the Blackfoot, Piegan [sic] and Blood Indians. (United Church, 1940, p. 21)

As a part of his Methodist heritage, Rundle placed great emphasis on travelling from community to community to conduct camp-style meetings in order to spread the Christian gospel. He included education instruction as an offshoot of the camp meetings, a process which adapted well to the First Nation lifestyle. However, this mode of operation was not acceptable to the Hudson's Bay Company; instead, Simpson and Rowland preferred Rundle to establish a formal school at Fort Edmonton for the children at the fort and a few selected Indian children (Dempsey, 1977, p. xxx). On September 16, 1841, in response to Sir George Simpson's pressure for him to establish a school at the fort, Rundle enquired whether the "school should commence at once, and if two boys are to be taken from each tribe or whether the number is to be limited to ten" (p. xxx). Two months later Simpson referred to Rundle's letter when he wrote to James Evans, General Superintendent of the Wesleyan missionaries in the western territory,

> I have written to him [Rundle] that I should be glad if a school should be established at Fort Edmonton, which besides the children of the Fort would be attended by 12 Indian boys taken from different tribes visiting the Fort. (p. xxxi)

In November 1841 Simpson followed up his letter to Evans with one to J. E. Harriott, Chief Trader at Fort Edmonton, regarding the establishment of a school:

> On the subject of forming a school at Edmonton, a measure to which I am favourable, you will therefore be good enough to afford him [Rundle] your support and assist in the formation of it; . . . do everything in your power, to promote the objects of the mission. (PAM.D4/59. pp. 30-31)

Rundle, however, does not appear to have been swayed by The Company men to start a school, though he commenced teaching Chief Factor John Rowland's two daughters, who resided at Fort Edmonton. Instead he remained an adherent of the Methodist camp meeting format and wrote to Evans that he preferred to establish "a mission outside the Fort" (Dempsey, 1977, p. xxxi) for First Nation people, a goal impeded by Hudson's Bay Company regulations limiting settlement in the territory.

Nevertheless, Rundle travelled to the camps of The People and provided the beginnings of European style education when he visited the communities.

Rundle's understanding of his role and the focus of his commitment on working among First Nations in their communities enabled him to spend a considerable amount of time teaching First Nation children and adults. As with other early missionaries, however, there does not appear to have been any separation between religious teaching and other educational activities. Boundaries were not established by the construction of formal "classrooms"; Rundle simply used religious activities as opportunities to teach the reading and writing of syllabics and to a lesser degree the use of written English whenever he visited First Nation Communities.

On May 25, 1843, Rundle wrote to Evans that many of the First Nation people he visited "are getting acquainted with my writing [syllabics]" (Dempsey, 1977, p. 131) and that he had given at least 50 Cree hymn books to the people in the Lesser Slave Lake region. The following year he wrote to Evans, asking, "Could you send me, if you pls [sic], a few small children's books? I do not mean school books, although I should be very glad to receive some of the latter" (p. 149). Rundle lamented that he simply did not have enough time to do the "work I ought to be doing in reading and writing" (p. lii) amidst First Nation communities. He did believe, however, that the introduction of schools in First Nation communities would be a solution to providing instruction on a larger scale. In a letter to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, he commented, "What a pity there are no schools established" because there were hundreds of children, and he asked rhetorically, "What is to be done?" (p. 87).

Certainly, Rundle met with groups of children during his visits to the communities. There is frequent reference in his *Journal* that he met with the children, often in groups of 30 or more, both during the daytime and in the evening. Although attendance fluctuated, for the most part he expressed pleasure with the frequency and commitment of those who came to his sessions (Dempsey, 1977, pp. 89-108). Instruction was certainly related to his mission to baptize the children and adults, a matter he took very seriously; yet his religious activities were not in isolation from the teaching of the rudiments of reading and writing. He taught and examined the children on the scriptures, catechism, and prayers prior to baptism, as evidenced by the following *Journal* entry:

> Met the children twice. Making rapid progress in Divine things. . . . Rejected one in the evening, the other 4 were baptised, their examination before a large number was most satisfactory. The profession they made I believe surprised many. (p. 90)

Later, having worked with another group of children, he commented that one boy answered the questions well, but he regretted that he had not "instructed him as much as I could have wished as his eyes were bad" (Dempsey, 1977, p. 91). Rundle became "accustomed to hold a kind of school during five days a week" where he taught, used syllabics, and wrote "several things for Indians" (pp. 111-123). Occasionally, he commented that he "held English school" or "read a chapter in English"; all seem to have related to the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments (sometimes taught the "short way"), scriptures, and other religious material (pp. 175-184). He often recorded that he taught groups to sing, particular the women and children, and taught some women to write the alphabet (p. 94). He also commented that he was teaching both children and adults "to read" and that by teaching the alphabet and writing "small words," some in the communities learned to read in English as well as Cree and Assiniboine syllabics (United Church, 1940, p. 31).

Frequently, Rundle taught, over a period of time, a number of "lessons" to both the young and old before he considered baptizing them. Thorough examinations ensured that they understood "the principals [sic] of Xtianity [sic]." Adults who successfully passed the examination were presented with "a copy of the Evg. hymn, etc."; children were also given one or two unspecified books (Dempsey, 1977, p. 95). Following baptism, Rundle also presented the individuals with baptism certificates. One such certificate written in a combination of Cree syllabics and English was donated a century later to the United Church. The document "certifies that on my pastoral rounds at Kenekanick Park I baptized Marianne, the daughter of Chag-to and O-ye-o-la, thirteen winters old" (United Church, 1940, p. 20), dated and signed August 28, 1843, R. T. Rundle. From time to time, Rundle gave gifts of pen and ink to both children and adults; on other occasions he simply recorded that he gave the Peigan children gifts (Dempsey, 1977, p. 273).

Rundle's *Journal* reflects his commitment to spreading Christianity among the Blackfoot Confederacy, the Stoney, and Cree people. During his eight-year mission, he recorded that he baptized 214 children and adults; as well, he conducted 594 marriages

(Dempsey, 1977, pp. 343-403). One of the adults he baptized, the Cree Chief Maskepetoon, became a devout Methodist. He and his son, Benjamin, both wrote in syllabics and informed Rundle that they "would like to learn English" (p. xxxix). Maskepetoon accomplished his goal and became an avid reader of the Bible and, furthermore, organized Rundle's travel to Cree communities. He drew maps for the trips and also arranged "an extensive" (p. iii) trip across the Bow River into Blackfoot territory. In the introduction to Rundle's *Journal*, Gerald Hutchison wrote that the involvement of Maskepetoon in Rundle's missionary work and his role in the organization of Rundle's camp meetings was the most significant feature of Rundle's trip, for it revealed "the extent of native involvement in his excursions," because by the end of Rundle's missionary work in the territory, it

> was no longer a matter of Rundle paying visits to scattered camps when he could find them at home. Through the succession of visits many Indians were . . . partially equipped for a new kind of life. There was no lack of interpreters for in every camp there were people who could talk both to Rundle and the others. (p. liii)

A decade later, the Palliser Expedition met a group of Stoneys who in the evening sang hymns and conducted prayers, much to Palliser's surprise. Peter Erasmus, the expedition's interpreter, wrote of the occasion that he informed Palliser that though it had been years since the Stoneys were in contact with Rundle, "they still carried on with his teaching" (Erasmus, 1999, p. 108). Similarly, the Earl of South Esk, who travelled the prairies in 1859 and 1860 on a hunting trip, "was amazed at the Christian deportment and accomplishments of the Stoney Indians and their testimony to Rundle" (Dempsey, 1977, p. lviii). Palliser wrote in his *Journal* that during his expedition he met

> numbers of Indians who in various ways reflected the influence of Rundle. There were guides like Abraham who had been baptised by Rundle; Indians anxious to develop agriculture and already managing their own turnip patches; Indians using Cree syllabics . . . taught by Rundle. (p. lviii)

Rundle had, in many ways, set the tone for future changes as he travelled present-day Southern Alberta, spreading the gospel message. He undertook to cultivate gardens in a number of locations and along with First Nation people spent time growing potatoes, turnips, lettuce, beets, carrots, radishes, parsnips, wheat and barley (Dempsey, 1977,

p. lii). All of the Hudson's Bay Company forts and posts flew the British flag. Rundle, however, added to this British custom, as evidenced by his *Journal* entry, that during his church services, whether at the Company posts or in First Nation communities, he offered prayers for Queen Victoria and thus introduced to those present the importance of the monarchy to the British (p. 306). Rundle was committed to his primary goal, missionary work; however, he also ensured that some of the people of the Blackfoot Confederacy and the Cree and Stoney people were acquainted with the rudiments of reading and writing and with the basic characteristics of a different way of life. He was the first of many missionaries and priests to travel, live, and disseminate their religious and cultural beliefs amidst The People of the western prairies. Rundle was a forerunner of changing times.

The Roman Catholic Church

In 1838, on the way to the west coast, two Roman Catholic priests, Father Modeste Demers and Father Blanchet, planted a cross at Fort Edmonton. It stood as a symbol of the Christian activity which flourished at the fort during the next few decades. Many of the Hudson's Bay Company employees at the fort were of the Roman Catholic faith, and the Company offered its support to Catholic priests who ventured west to administer the Christian message to its employees and to the Aboriginal people who resided in the vicinity. This offer was solidified when Chief Factor John Rowand wrote to the Roman Catholic Bishop, the Reverend Joseph-Norbert Provencher of Saint Boniface, and asked him to appoint a priest to serve the Catholic inhabitants of the fort as well as to deliver the Roman Catholic message to the Aboriginal people who visited Fort Edmonton. The Bishop concurred with the request, and soon priests, laymen, and, to a lesser degree, religious sisters travelled from Red River, Quebec, and France to espouse the Catholic doctrine to the inhabitants of the fort and beyond.

The fort became a base of religious activities as representatives of both the Catholic and Protestant organizations prepared to carry forth the Christian message and sacraments. Disciples of both denominations mingled together as they established their own religious communities, and by the late 1840s a steady stream of religious representatives were domiciled at the Fort. Both Roman Catholic and Protestant services were offered on Sundays, and the Company established a protocol for the seating arrangement at meal time to cope with the interdenominational clergy present (PAM.B.60/a/30). Although friendships developed among the individuals of the various Christian sects, relations on occasion were strained as each vied for the souls of Aboriginal people. Paul Kane, an artist who visited Fort Edmonton in 1847 and 1848, recorded his conversation with Chief Maskepetoon regarding the interfaith rivalry. The latter commented,

> Mr. Rundell [sic] has told him that what he preached was the only true road to heaven, and Mr. Hunter [Anglican] told him the same thing, and so did Mr. Thebo [sic] [Roman Catholic], and as they all three said that the other two were wrong, and as he did not know which was right, he thought they ought to call a council among themselves and then he would go with them all three; but that until they agreed he would wait. (MacGregor, 1975, p. 96)

Maskepetoon's commentary gives a glimpse of the competition between the religious sects between Rundle's arrival in 1840 and the signing of Treaty 7 in 1877. John Rowand, Chief Factor at Fort Edmonton, had a different, but no less derisive view of the effect of the men of the cloth on First Nation people. Rowland wrote in 1843, "The worst thing for the trade is those ministers and priests. . . . The natives will never work half so well now; . . . they like praying and singing" (MacGregor, 1975, p. 74).

In June 1842 the Oblate priest Jean-Baptiste Thibault arrived at Fort Edmonton. He conducted Roman Catholic services both for the inhabitants at the fort and for those who came to trade. On a trip to Rocky Mountain House, he met and delivered a Catholic service to the visiting Blackfoot (Grant, 1984, p. 145). He returned to Saint Boniface for a short while but by 1844 had returned to the Edmonton area and settled at the Oblate mission at Lac La Biche, a site he first visited in 1842. The mission served the Cree and Métis people of the area, but was also an indicator of the Oblates' determination to move "out into new areas and establish satellite missions thus expanding their apostolic frontier" (Huel, 1996, p. 47). Priests in the Oblate Order, as a part of their classical training, studied the Greek and Latin languages and used their detailed and analytical study of these languages to learn Cree and Blackfoot languages; ultimately, they compiled dictionaries and grammar books in both languages (p. 30).

In 1845 Lieutenant Henry Warre and Lieutenant Vavasour traveled via the North Saskatchewan River to Fort Edmonton and then on to the Pacific Coast via the Columbia

River. Warre on his return to England published *Sketches in North America.* At the same time, though travelling in the reverse direction, the Jesuit priest Jean-Pierre de Smet crossed the Rocky Mountains into Blackfoot territory. Whereas Roman Catholic priests primarily focussed on religious and educational activities, de Smet's goal was to attempt to establish peace between the Kootenay people and those of the Blackfoot Confederacy. His efforts to establish a lasting peace were not successful. However, de Smet's trip is an indication of the diverse involvement of the men of the cloth in the total lifestyle of First Nation people. While in Treaty 7 area, de Smet also met the Reverend Rundle, and the two are reported to have established a friendship. Their meeting also reflects the growing influx of priests and missionaries into Blackfoot territory (Grant, 1984, p. 150).

In 1854 Father, later Bishop, Vital J. Grandin, who was originally from France, journeyed to Fort Edmonton. He subsequently moved to the North; however, he returned to the Edmonton area and in 1860 took up residence in the Oblate mission established at Saint Albert. The Oblates had moved to the Saint Albert area because they believed that it offered greater agriculture potential than land adjacent to Fort Edmonton, and it was also closer to the historical trails of the Blackfoot (Huel, 1996, p. 49). Bishop Grandin was responsible for bringing several lay brothers from France to assist at the mission in the areas of construction, agriculture, and teaching. By 1863 the Grey Nuns were also assisting in teaching duties at Saint Albert, for Grandin believed that "education and agricultural settlement were likely to be the most effective means of ensuring the Indian survival" (Grant, 1984, p. 150). Although the Oblates lived in Saint Alberta and predominantly provided religious and educational instruction to the Crees of the surrounding area, the Blackfoot visited the mission and thus would have at least been aware of its activities; by 1871 the Saint Albert mission area was the most important settlement in terms of population and agriculture in present-day Alberta (Huel, 1996, p. 49).

In 1854 Father Remas visited Fort Edmonton and subsequently moved to the Lac La Biche area. It was here that his fellow Oblate priests, Fathers Augustin Maisonneuve and Jean Tissot, had relocated the Oblate mission site to the shores of Lake Sainte Anne due to the abundance of fish and the connection of the Lake to the Northern waterway system. In 1859, after a trip to Saint Boniface, Father Remas returned to Fort Edmonton, accompanied by three members of the Grey Nuns. After resting from the 51-day journey, the group moved to the Sainte Anne mission, where laymen had undertaken to cut out a road to bring in supplies from Fort Pitt and constructed a mission house (Huel, 1996, p. 49). Sister Lamy, one of the three Grey Nuns sisters, wrote of her first impressions of the mission:

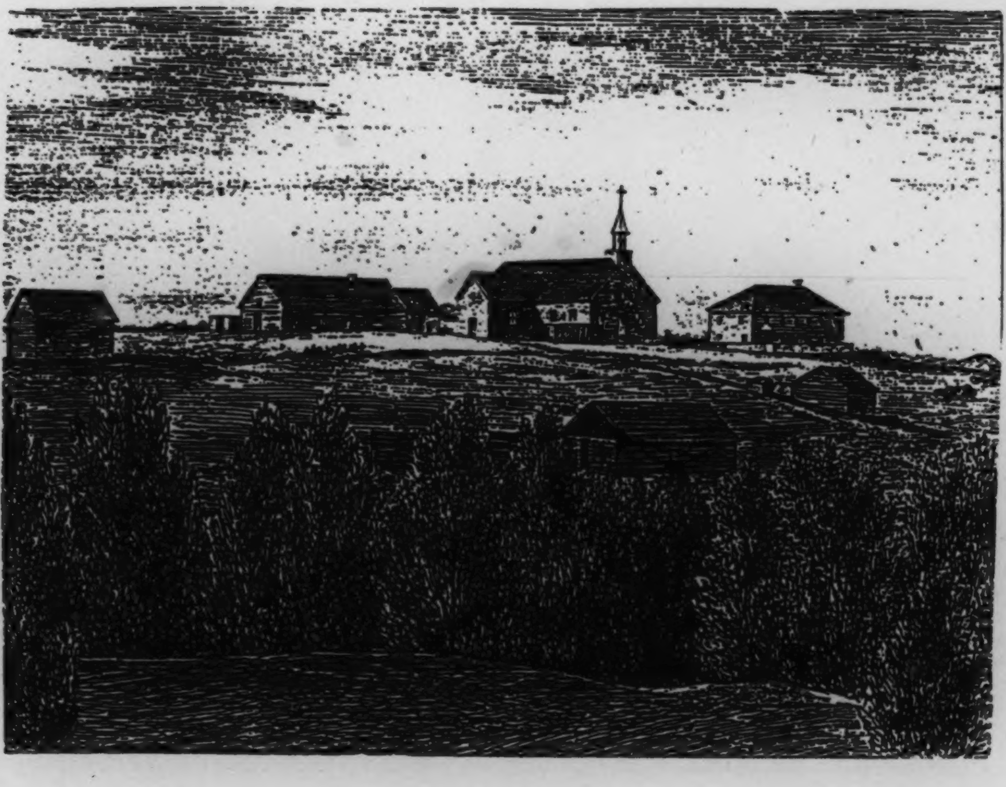
> It is rather small, at the most only twenty feet long and fifteen feet wide. It is sealed with mud and covered with bark. The house is divided into two bedrooms and a living room. . . . The chapel is also very poor. There are two altars. One is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, the sanctuary lamp being made of wood by the missionary. A wooden chandelier is trimmed with pieces of tin and coloured birds' eggs. (MacGregor, 1975, p. 108)

Within five years the Lac Sainte Anne mission site had become a significant site of Oblate religious, educational, and social activity among the Cree and Métis of the area. The Grey Nuns established themselves at Sainte Anne and provided "education and health care" (Huel, 1996, p. 49) not only to the Crees who lived in the area, but also to other First Nation people who visited the mission site. Sainte Anne became a focus point for Oblate activities and a "point of departure for their missions to other areas (p. 49).

Father Albert Lacombe

In September 1852 Father Albert Lacombe arrived at Fort Edmonton and began a missionary career which led him to became one of the most influential religious figures in the Treaty 7 area (Spry, 1968, p. 342). Father Lacombe, like other Oblate priests, spent time at both Lac Sainte Anne and Saint Albert (see photograph 6-1). He learned the Cree language and conducted his missionary work; however, in 1865 he asked of his superiors that he "be relieved of his duties at Saint Albert in order to follow the tribes in their travels across the prairies" (Huel, 1996, p. 50). His request was granted, and on January l, 1865, Father Lacombe commenced his "mission of roaming the prairies in an attempt to evangelize among the ever-wandering Crees and Blackfoot" (MacGregor, 1975, p. 132). Like his Protestant counterpart, the Reverend Rundle, Lacombe believed that "it was possible to evangelize the Indians by accompanying them *a la prairie* and instructing them in their camps" (Huel, 1996, p. 51).

Father Lacombe had certainly met the people of Treaty 7 prior to his decision of 1865. While at Fort Edmonton in March 1857, he encountered several hundred Blackfoot



Photograph 6-1. Saint Albert, 1877.
(Courtesy of the National Archives of Canada)

who came to trade at the Fort (MacGregor, 1975, p. 95). The Blackfoot also visited the Saint Albert mission, and as they travelled their traditional travel routes in the Lac La Biche/Lac Sainte Anne area, they had contact with the Oblates (Huel, 1996, p. 52). However, for seven years from 1865 onwards, Lacombe travelled the southern prairies in an "unending round of visits to Indian camps," spreading the Catholic message and baptizing "thousands" of First Nation people (MacGregor, 1975, p. 133). Father Lacombe believed, however, that "baptism" for many was only a nominal acceptance of the Christian message. He was cognizant of the "indifference" of the Blackfoot in their response to "ecclesiastical teaching" (p. 227) as new converts simply adapted Christian rituals to their own activities and subsequently continued their own deeply held spiritual beliefs. Sprituality, like their approach to life, was holistic, an integral part of their daily lives, and "because of their breadth of view in religious matters," they were "not so hidebound that they could not adopt elements of others' beliefs" into their everyday worship (p. 149).

In times of illness, and particularly when the smallpox or scarlet fever or other diseases struck, the First Nation had little to resort to but their faith and often called upon the priests and missionaries to assist in their time of need. During the 1865 scarlet fever epidemic, the Blackfoot requested that Lacombe assist them. For three weeks Father Lacombe traveled among 10 Blackfoot camps, each about five miles apart, with little to offer but his faith as death struck all around. He wrote:

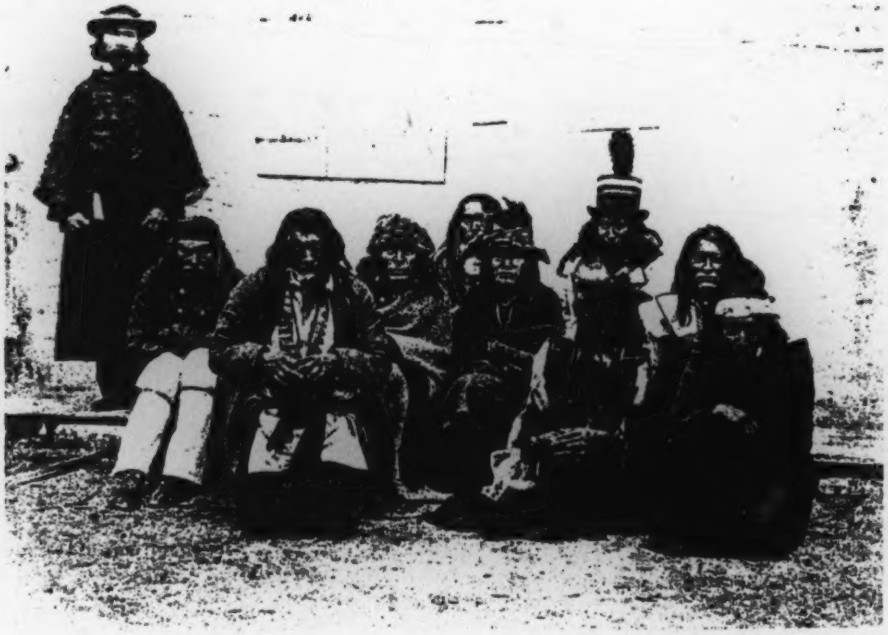
> It was heart breaking. [At each camp] we heaped the dead by tens or fifteens, in a closed tent which was held down and covered with stones and snow. Then we would move on further from this scene of desolation, leaving forty or fifty corpses in one place. Soon the wolves would contend with this. (MacGregor, 1975, p. 140)

The Fort Edmonton documents recorded that "more than 1,100 persons, men, women and children, have died among the Blackfoot" (p. 140). Father Lacombe had come to the Blackfoot's assistance when they were desperate; they would not forget his kindness.

Having gained the respect of the Blackfoot, Father Lacombe continued to work among them. He wrote that "with Alexis, my excellent Blackfoot cook, my horses, my cart, and my portable altar, my catechisms, [and] some objects of piety" he travelled the southern outreaches of the prairies, delivering the Catholic message and at the same time learned a little Blackfoot in order to "carry on my evangelistic mission" (MacGregor, 1975, pp. 146-156). During the time spent with the Blackfoot, he "gathered the children, instructed them and sang hymns" (Grant, 1984, p. 78); and as he conversed with the children, he improved his own Blackfoot language skills. He often spent two or three weeks at a time in a Blackfoot camp, a time spent "teaching, catechizing and studying the language"(MacGregor, 1975, p. 199).

In 1865, while preaching to the Blackfoot, Father Lacombe drew the Catholic Ladder in the sand. The Ladder was a concept dating back to the Apostles, whereby a pictorial presentation of the practical "events in which God entered into human history" (Huel, 1996, p. 94) was used to give substance to Catholic ideology. Utilizing the Blackfoot custom of pictographs drawn on buffalo hides, Father Lacombe subsequently drew "figures and symbols to present biblical history" on a buffalo hide (p. 94). His representation of the Catholic Ladder became known as the Lacombe Ladder and was utilized by many as a popular teaching tool.

During 1870 and 1871 Father Lacombe wintered at Rocky Mountain House Post (see photograph 6-2). However, the following year he built a small cabin type of building on the Elbow River (close to present-day Calgary), to serve as a base camp for his work among the Blackfoot Confederacy. The following year two other Oblate priests, Father Constantine Scollen and Father Fourmond, used it as they travelled among the various camps of the Blackfoot people. For the next few years Fathers Scollen, Doucent, and Bonnald, as well as three Catholic laymen, Alexis Cardinal, Jean L'Heureux, and Louis Daze, used the cabin as a base from which to serve the Blackfoot (MacGregor, 1975, p. 235). Father Scollen and Father Lacombe had worked together in the Lac Sainte Anne and Saint Albert missions, including the time spent compiling a Cree dictionary. In 1862 Father Scollen worked as a teacher at Fort Edmonton. Others had taught before him, but he was the first to teach in a building set aside solely as a formal school. Although no Blackfoot students appear to have been registered at the school, those visiting the Fort more than likely would have been aware of the building and its purpose. Father Scollen left the Fort and followed his friend and mentor, Father Lacombe, in his work among the people of the Blackfoot Confederacy. When Lacombe returned to the east in 1872, Scollen continued his work among the Blackfoot Confederacy communities during the



Photograph 6-2. Priest and Peigans at Rocky Mountain House, 1871.
(Courtesy of National Archives of Canada)

1870s, particularly with the Blackfoot and Blood people (Treaty 7 Elders & Tribal Council, 1996, p. 58). In 1873, Fathers Scollen and Doucet established the first permanent Oblate mission on the Bow River, Notre Dame de la Paix, which enabled the Oblates to reach out to the members of the Blackfoot Confederacy from the present-day Calgary area south to the American boundary (Huel, 1996, p. 52). Between 1872 and 1876 Father Lacombe moved east to work as a parish priest and to raise funds for the missionary work of the Catholic Church. When he returned to the prairies, his friend Father Scollen was still ministering to the people of the Blackfoot Confederacy but now was also providing services to settlers who were beginning to move into the Fort Macleod and Calgary areas.

Within 35 years, from 1842 to 1877, the Oblates had established a significant presence amidst the Cree and Blackfoot peoples. As they spread out from Fort Edmonton, they established missions to serve as a base for their religious activities. Certainly, the primary focus was on spiritual matters and the Christian conversion of First Nation people; however, as well as bringing a Christian message, they added to The People's understanding of Western culture and customs and provided initial practical experience of Western education. In teaching the young and old alike, the Oblates assisted the Blackfoot Confederacy in gaining a wider understanding of the Western educational practices of reading and writing.

Canadian Methodist Ministers

In 1840 when the Reverend Rundle established a Wesleyan presence at Fort Edmonton and the surrounding territory, Benjamin Sinclair, a lay preacher as well as an interpreter, was appointed as his assistant. Rundle had hoped to establish a mission in the Battle River Lake area; however, it was Sinclair who actually established the Wesleyan outreach mission site, choosing Pigeon Lake over Rundle's preferred site. By 1847 Sinclair had delivered the Wesleyan message, teaching the Scriptures and elements of education to the Cree and Stoney people who camped close to the Pigeon Lake mission. Intertribal conflict between the Cree and the Blackfoot in the area, however, led Sinclair to abandon the mission. After Rundle's departure in 1848, Sinclair was the only Wesleyan representative in the area until the arrival in 1855 of the Reverend Henry Bird Steinhauer, an Ojiwa educated at Upper Canada Academy and an ordained Methodist minister and the Reverend Thomas Woolsey. Like religious representatives before them, they initially took up residence at Fort Edmonton, where Woolsey conducted Protestant services at the Fort. Ultimately, both men moved on to establish missions. Woolsey journeyed to Pigeon Lake to reopen the mission and reconnect with Chief Maskepetoon, and Steinhauer travelled to the Lac La Biche area and established a mission at Whitefish Lake. Steinhauer was later joined at this location by Benjamin Sinclair. Both missions were frequented by the Cree and Stoney people. Woolsey, as Sinclair had done, left the Pigeon Lake mission and subsequently moved to the general vicinity of Lac La Biche, where he commenced to establish a mission house at Smoky Lake.

The Reverend Steinhauer's mission at Whitefish Lake became a significant outreach site for the Wesleyans. By 1862 his school was conducted in a separate building, classes were well attended, and instruction in syllabic reading and writing was provided to young and old alike. In 1866 he wrote, "Almost all our people can read the Scriptures in their own language" (Nix, 1960, p. 46)—an accomplishment despite the lack of a teacher. The Cree people at the mission petitioned the Canadian Wesleyan Society "to send them a full-time teacher, reminding the Society that they had been making such appeals since 1861" (p. 46).

In 1868 A. J. Snyder, who had taught at Fort Edmonton, moved to Whitefish Lake to resume teaching duties there. On arrival he noted the accomplishment of Steinhauer in teaching the adults of the mission community and decided to focus his attention on the "youthful mind" (Nix, 1960, p. 47). He studied the Cree language, though he taught English to his students. Later he wrote, "When three years passed away I looked over the school-roll and found that 120 children had been taught to read the Holy Scriptures and to sing many of the sweet songs of Zion" (p. 47). However, the curriculum was not one simply of religious instruction, for when Fort Edmonton Chief Factor William J. Christie visited the Whitefish school in 1871, he acted as a school inspector. The children were given "a day long examination in reading, writing, spelling, geography and Bible history" and it was noted that the children "can now read, write, and cipher with such alacrity" (p. 48). In 1875 Miss E. A. Barrett was appointed teacher at White Fish Lake, and the Reverend Steinhauer "was delighted with her work, for she not only taught the school but taught the women homemaking and child care" (p. 50). Furthermore, Steinhauer wrote that he was thankful to the Missionary Society not only for "their manifest kindness in sending us such a one as Miss Barrett to teach our children," but also because "she taught our elder people" (p. 50). Although the children and their parents were predominantly Cree and Métis, the activities at Whitefish Lake, both religious and educational, were know to the Cree allies, the Stoneys, who from the 1850s onwards requested the Wesleyan missionaries to establish a mission and school in their territory (p. 32).

In 1862 the Reverend George McDougall and his son, John, left their missionary duties in Norway House and travelled to the prairies to choose a mission site for their Christian outreach. They visited the Reverend Thomas Woolsey's struggling mission at Smoky Lake before travelling on to Fort Edmonton. By the fall George McDougall had returned to Norway House for the winter to prepare to bring his family back the following spring, and Woolsey and John McDougall spent the winter building a new missionary site on the North Saskatchewan, chosen and named *Victoria* by George McDougall. The following spring the McDougalls began their missionary duties on the prairies. The two men had not only changed Woolsey's planned missionary site but would also overshadow the work of Woolsey and Steinhauer.

In 1863 the McDougall family took up residence at Victoria (Pakan), and the site soon consisted of a mission house, a school, and sheds; and agriculture was undertaken with the use of one plough (Nix, 1960, p. 33). The mission administered to the Cree people of the area; however, McDougall, having established contact with the Stoneys the previous year, continued to meet with them from time to time both in the Victoria area and when he visited Fort Edmonton and Rocky Mountain House areas. The Stoneys sought him out regarding the matter of a mission (Nix, 1960, p. 32). The McDougall missionary outreach work continued to expand. The Victoria mission received a full-time teacher in 1864 with the arrival of Mr. Connor. Religious instruction using the New Testament in both Cree and English, and academic subjects formed the basis of the curriculum taught in the log-cabin school to the students initially including McDougall children, orphan Indian children, and Cree children from the area. By 1870 the Victoria school provided instruction for "at least 100 children" (Nix, 1960, p. 48). The children received "moral and spiritual instruction"' as well, the Cree children were reported to be able to "read the English Bible and understand the language" (pp. 48-49). The

McDougalls established evening classes for "adult education," and in a letter dated April 5, 1870, George McDougall wrote:

> We have also a week-night reading class. Our plan is a very simple one but it has proved a great success. Some six or eight are called upon to read pieces each evening. They are allowed to select their own reading, with the understanding that nothing immoral or fictitious will be introduced. . . . Great effort has been made to acquire a thorough knowledge of the reading; and the different tastes have given us quite a variety. Christian biography, temperance, history, and dialogue, all pass between us. (p. 49)

Certainly, there is no record of Stoneys attending these sessions, but through their visits with McDougall and their interaction with the Cree they were probably aware of the activities.

In December 1864 John McDougall journeyed to Pigeon Lake to reestablish the mission abandoned earlier by Benjamin Sinclair with the intention of establishing a mission similar to that at Victoria. At Pigeon Lake John McDougall built a house, a school, and other buildings, and also ploughed the land for farming. He instructed "the Indians in agriculture" and conducted "religious meetings" (Nix, 1960, p. 36) for Cree and Stoney people who visited the mission. In 1869 John McDougall reported that "there were usually about half a hundred Indians camped around the mission," including the Stoneys, who, he wrote, "make religion a business; in their camp morning and evening prayers are sung with a pathos and energy" (p. 43). He also recorded that he and his followers "were engaged in the erection of a snug little church" (Nix, 1960, p. 43).

Both father and son continued to visit Fort Edmonton and Rocky Mountain House Post from time to time, where they primarily met with the Stoneys but also had contact with the Blackfoot (Nix, 1960, p. 37). George McDougall urged the Canadian Wesleyan Mission Society to fund a mission amidst the Stoneys and the Blackfoot. He returned from the Canadian Wesley General Committee meeting in Toronto in 1867 with the news that the Committee had "unanimously endorsed the inauguration of two new missions, one to the settlers at Red River, the other to the Blackfoot Indians" (p. 40). He was accompanied by three new teachers for the existing Wesleyan schools and one for Fort Edmonton. Mr. A. J. Snyder was appointed teacher at the fort and by the fall of 1868 had a school in operation, serving children as well as adults "to meet the wants of the men" (Nix, 1960, p. 47). The following summer Snyder accompanied the McDougalls on their "great gathering on the plains" of Cree and Stoney people and conducted "primitive school under the open skies" (p. 47). He wrote of this outdoor educational happening:

> I was now to enter on active duties twice each day—a suitable spot was selected, and the hand-bell rung and the little folks collected for school exercises; and then the mixed multitude of Stoneys, Crees, and half-breeds frequently numbering 140 . . . [attended] . . . our prairie school. . . . [Soon] . . . many of the children could sing quite a number of Sabbath-School hymns, repeat the Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, and answer a number of scripture questions. (p. 47)

Snyder, like the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries who had come before him, spread the Christian gospel, but at the same time introduced the Western concept of education, including ringing the school bell! This concept was firmly in George McDougall's mind when he wrote to the Missionary Society in 1872, requesting money to establish a school in Woodvale. He wrote, "A mission without a school is an anomaly" (Nix, 1960, p. 49). He used a metaphor to argue for funding for the school:

> If the stability of a house depends on the security of its foundation, equally so does the future of a mission depend on its school. . . . We must have an efficient school-master at Woodville; nothing attaches the native to our stations like attention to his children. (p. 49)

Befitting the season and the commitment of the Stoney people to the Reverend Robert Rundle's teachings, John McDougall was informed during Christmastime 1875 that the Mission Society had made a grant of $500.00 for a school at Morleyville (present day Morley). The McDougalls had recently established a mission at Morley to serve the Stoney people (Nix, 1960, p. 49). A log schoolhouse was constructed and a teacher hired; formal Western education was established in the Treaty 7 area. It was a precarious beginning. Nevertheless, John McDougall considered the school a success. He wrote the following year, "We cannot report quite the average attendance required by Government to obtain their grant, yet we are very much encouraged, and hope soon to be able to have larger school-room and more numerous attendance" (p. 50).

The Oblate priest and Wesley missionaries had dedicated themselves to spreading the Christian Gospel among the people of the Blackfoot Confederacy, the Stoney and Tsuu T'ina nations, and their Cree neighbours. Certainly the hope and expectation of the missionaries was to convert The People to Christianity, but in the process they also provided the rudiments of formal Western education. Although school buildings were not established in Blackfoot territory prior to the Morleyville school in 1875, the Treaty 7 people travelled to Fort Edmonton, the Oblate missions at Saint Albert and Sainte Anne, the Wesleyan missions at Victoria, Pigeon Lake, and Whitefish Lake, and they could not have failed to be aware of the school buildings which were erected in these places. As well, missionaries had travelled to the camps of the Treaty 7 people, not only bringing the Christian message, but also teaching syllabics and the basic concepts of Western reading and writing. The Cree petitions for teachers and the Stoney requests for a mission indicate that they were not passive players but, rather, active participants seeking out formal educational opportunities. The request for teachers and the provision of schooling for their people was consistent with earlier requests for schools which spanned from Chief Joseph Brant's request for funding for a school in the eighteenth century and Chief Shingwauk's desire for a school which Miller stated indicated that Shingwauk "identified the Christian religion and European schooling as the source of the newcomers' strengthe and success" (Miller, 1996, p. 6).

The Treaty 7 people had delivered written messages for the Hudson's Bay Company and received written baptism certificates and religious books, usually the New Testament or the Bible. Like many settlers in other parts of Canada at the time, the Bible formed the basis of the reading material available in their home for adults and children alike. Despite the religious focus, the missionaries had introduced The People to another aspect of the Western way of life and added to their knowledge basis from earlier encounters with fur traders, explorers, and adventurers who travelled through or stayed in their territory. The Reverend Henry Steinhauer wrote of J. A. Snyder, who taught at Whitefish Lake, that he worked "in the hope of advancing the children . . . in the ways of religion and truth" (Nix, 1960, p. 50). Despite religious bickering between the Oblates and the Wesleyans, collectively they believed that education was a way to prepare the Blackfoot and other First Nations for the onslaught of settlers, and the changing way of life quickly encompassing the territory. The missionaries' faith, as demonstrated in their activities, was that through education First Nation people would be able to meet the changes. Regardless of sect, the missionaries probably echoed Reverend Steinhauer's words:

> We speak of our Missions in this country, as being a power for renovating the conditions of those people who have come under their instructions; and in my estimation the school has been an equal power in elevating the scale of being of those who in the estimation of many a white man, were irrecoverably barbarous—too degraded to acquire knowledge, either moral or religious. (p. 50)

Although at times the Blackfoot and others were indifferent to the missionaries and their preaching, the missionaries were in their territory at the acceptance of the Blackfoot Confederacy and other First Nations. The individual missionary, whether Rundle, Lacombe or others would not have survived or gained acceptance in their camps if the First Nation people had not accepted or at least tolerated their presence. The Blackfoot, Blood, Peigan, Stoney, and Tsuu T'ina people did not live in isolation from what was occurring in their territory. They were aware of the changing times, the ever-increasing presence of Europeans, the decreasing number of buffalo, and the growing American settlement to the south; and through contact and communication with other First Nations to the east, they were cognizant of encroaching settlement and the European way of life. As the Stoney and Cree people demonstrated, they asked on numerous occasions for missionaries or teachers to establish themselves in their vicinity. Western education was one of the services they were seeking from the missionaries.

The Palliser Expedition

Fort Edmonton was the central gathering place for individuals and groups who traversed the prairies and the Rocky Mountain foothills, and for those who journeyed across the Rockies. People socialized, prayed together, and exchanged news of events happening thousands of miles away in Canada, America, or Europe. Individuals such as the artist Paul Kane stayed at both Fort Edmonton and the Rocky Mountain House Post during his 1846 to 1848 return trip across the prairies to the Pacific coast. During his travels he drew stretches and painted the people and scenery around him; he ultimately produced his book *Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America* in 1859. A decade later, John Palliser and his associates who formed the Palliser expedition used Fort Edmonton as a base as they conducted their official surveys of the prairies, with particular focus on the territory of the Blackfoot Confederacy. Palliser, a member of the Irish gentry, spent two years, from 1847 to 1849, touring the United States and travelled to the Upper Missouri and Yellowstone River areas in order to participate in a buffalo and bear "big-game hunting exploits"(Spry, 1968, p. xxi). He subsequently returned to Britain, and in 1856, following his election to the Royal Geographical Society, he submitted *A Plan for the Survey of a Large Portion of North America* to the Society. His timing corresponded with the Select Committee of the British House of Commons' "urgent need for solid, objective information" regarding the "great plains," not only in relation to the opportunities for settlers but also to establish the accuracy of the "physical features of the Boundary Line of the 49th Parallel, between Great Britain and the United States of North America" (p. xxii), a task that the Committee identified as necessary "before the swelling tide of American expansion flooded the British west" (p. xlii). Maps had been published by Arrowsmith's of London in 1796 and revised in 1854, but these maps, based on Blackfoot maps and compiled by David Thompson and Peter Fidler during their explorations, were considered by the Select Committee to be of little value for the purpose of settlement, travel, communication, and international boundary determinations. Palliser, however, used the 1796 Blackfoot/Thompson/Fidler maps and later recorded that he was "impressed" with the Arrowsmith's maps. He wrote:

> It may be stated in conclusion that with regard to the general geographical features of the country, we derived great assistance from Arrowsmith's map of British North America, and that we had very frequent cause to admire the singular felicity of judgement . . . concerning the geography of localities. (p. xcvi)

Palliser's timely proposal was approved by the Royal Geographic Society, with an initial grant of £5,000 from the British government; by the conclusion of the expedition the funding reached £13,000.

In May 1857 Palliser and five others, including Dr. James Hector, both a medical doctor and a naturalist-geologist, left England via New York for the British North American prairie landscape. During the next three years the size of the expedition varied and often rose to a complement of 25 or 30 people (Spry, 1968, p. 496). The purpose of the expedition was

> 1. To survey the watershed between the basins of the Missouri and Saskatchewan; also the course of the South branch of the Saskatchewan and its tributaries; and, at the same time . . . examine the actual line of the frontier.

> 2. To explore the Rocky Mountains, for the purpose of ascertaining the most southerly pass across to the Pacific, within the British Territory. The Athabasca Portage is not only too far north, but totally useless for horses; and consequently we have at present to depend on the courtesy of the United States Government for access through their portion of the Continent to Vancouver's Island and the Western British Territories on the Pacific.
>
> 3. To report on the natural features and general capabilities of the country, and to construct a map of the routes and surveys. (p. 496)

The expedition was considered a scientific one, because science was "so valuable in relation to many questions of increasing public importance" (p. 497). Beside recording "detailed scientific investigations and instrumental observations," the expedition was to gather information "relating to natural features and altitudes of the country, climate, fauna, flora and geology and to note resources in timber and minerals, . . . character of the soil and the region's capability for agriculture" (p. lviii).

During the expedition Palliser and his companions travelled extensively in the Treaty 7 area and utilized Fort Edmonton, Rocky Mountain House, and the abandoned Peigan Post as base camps. As well, they visited the Oblate mission at Sainte Anne and Woolsey's mission at Pigeon Lake. Palliser and his companions, however, spent much of their time traversing the prairies and subsequently camped often with members of the Blackfoot, Blood, Peigan, Stoney, and Tsuu T'ina nations. Palliser and Dr. Hector recorded in their *Papers* and letters sent to Britain details of the land, fauna, and flora, but they also wrote of their contact and relationship with the Blackfoot Confederacy and the Stoney and Tsuu T'ina peoples. During his first winter at Fort Edmonton, Palliser wrote that he became "acquainted" with the Blackfoot people who traded at the Fort and also hunted with the Stoneys and others during winter forays from Fort Edmonton (Spry, 1968, p. lxxvii). In 1859 the expedition "traversed the whole of the British portion of the Blackfoot, Piegan [sic] and Blood Indians" land and recorded that the Blackfoot Confederacy territory "straddled the boundary" between the United States and British North America and that "the aborigines in the British territory were in touch with what was happening in the American territory" (p. cxvi).

Depending on the task at hand, Palliser's expedition varied in size with the hiring of Indian guides and various surveying assistants; as well, his expedition was joined by some Americans, who Palliser wrote were "from a party who had made an unsuccessful attempt to cross the mountains last season, and being anxious to make their way to the digging across the mountains requested me to take them into my service" (Spry, 1968, p. 396). Often Palliser's party separated into smaller groups to map and record data. Some of the men journeyed and recorded the mountain passes; others focussed on the prairie landscape (p. 396). Guides hired from First Nation communities were instrumental as Palliser drew maps and recorded data regarding the landscape and animal life of the prairies. He wrote that he hired Blackfoot guides who had "a great facility in finding water" (p. 211), assisted in seeking passageways in the mountains, and knew how the rivers were connected and the distance between locations. As well, they provided the necessary information for the expedition, such as, "The Indians say there is a great display of wild flowers in this neighbourhood . . . and that butterflies and other gaudy insects are very abundant" (p. 211). The importance of the Indian guides to the expedition was illustrated by Palliser's entry for January 1858. He wrote that he spent "two nights looking for a Stoney Indian that is said to know the Rocky Mountains well" (p. 214). He ultimately met the individual whom he subsequently called "Nimrod" because he "could not manage to pronounce his name" and asked Nimrod to act as his guide, a request to which "Nimrod" agreed (p. 215).

In mapping the territory, Palliser often referred to the use he made of Indian trails and landmarks identified by The People. On July 19, 1858, he wrote that he had crossed the Tail Creek and passed the north "flank of a high hill overhanging the Red Deer river, by which the Blackfoot trail leads out to the prairie" (Spry, 1968, p. 252). Similarly, Dr. Hector, while using Fort Edmonton as his base camp for the winter, wrote on November 28, 1858, "The Blackfoot track continues to the S.S.E. but we now left it and turned off to the S.S.W. [onto] the west branch of the Blackfoot trail for 8 miles to the south" (p. 347) to the area of the Peace Hills and returned to Fort Edmonton via the Blackfoot trail in the present-day Millet area. The following year Dr. Hector recorded that "we continued our course by the Blackfoot track" (p. 404) in the Battle River area. In the fall of 1858, returning to Fort Edmonton from the Golden/Field area, Dr. Hector stayed for a week in the Bighorn valley, then continued his journey "by the Wolfe's Track and western Blackfoot trail" (p. lxxx). October 1858 found Palliser in the foothills area, and he returned to Fort Edmonton using the Middle Blackfoot Trail. (p. lxxxiv).

Both Palliser and Dr. Hector purposely "afforded opportunities of getting acquainted with the Blackfoot and their Chiefs" in order to gain their friendship and co-operation (Spry, 1968, p. 343). While at Fort Edmonton in January 1858, Dr. Hector met in his little room with the "principal Indians" of the Blackfoot Confederacy and informed them of his expedition through their country (p. 212). He prepared and gave "papers" to each of the chiefs and headmen which

> merely mentioned the name of each, and stated that he had promised to aid us in every way in passing through their country. . . . With these papers I also gave to each a little present of tobacco and trinkets, and also sent by the hands of the others copies to some of the principal chiefs that were not present . . . to [distribute] to the proper persons. (pp. 212-213)

Later, while in the Red Deer River area, Palliser met with the Blackfoot chiefs, to whom Dr. Hector had given letters. They showed such to Palliser, who subsequently "wrote more, made them some presents of ammunition, tobacco, cloth etc" (p. 343) which he always carried with him as gifts for The People.

The hospitality and assistance Palliser received from the Treaty 7 people is evidenced in *The Palliser Papers*. He wrote that he had "extensive acquaintance among the principal chiefs and leading men of the Blackfoot and Piegans [sic]" (Spry, 1968, p. 413) and also referred to the frequent contact between members of the Confederacy and with other First Nations. He illustrated one such meeting which occurred while he was travelling south of the Bow River on July 19, 1859. Palliser and his men met one of the other expedition groups out on a separate excursion. He wrote:

> We had hardly joined them when a number of Indians from the Blood Indian camp, south of the Bow River came up; they had heard of our course from their allies the Blackfeet [sic]; started off, crossed the river, and came up with us. . . . The Blood Indians rode up and shook hands with me; they had all come unarmed in compliment to us. We camped, invited the chiefs to smoke, prepared something to eat. (p. 413)

Palliser's *Papers* recorded a number of occasions on which he camped, ate, and smoked with the Blackfoot Confederacy members, often trading with The People for food and horses. He wrote, "Our stores consisted of ammunition, tobacco, blankets, calico, knives, cloth, etc., for Indian presents, or for the barter of horses for the whole season" (Spry, 1968, p. 395). Thomas Blakiston, an initial member of Palliser's group, left the expedition and went on his own. He wrote in his 1858 *Report* that when he camped with the Stoneys, "as usual, when with or near any Indians, my flag, a St George's jack, was hoisted on a pole in front of the tent. I gave them some tobacco and fresh meat" (p. 561). Blakiston also recorded that he told the Stoneys that "Her Majesty was always glad to hear of their welfare, and that any message which they might have for Her, I would take down in writing" (p. 561). An old Stoney was reported to have replied, "We are glad that the great woman Chief of the Whites takes compassion upon us, we think she is ignorant of the way in which the traders treat us; they give us very little goods and ammunition for our furs and skins" (p. 562). Palliser was also aware of the inequalities and the trading disadvantage the Stoneys and the Blackfoot Confederacy faced. He supported the complaints of the Treaty 7 people and wrote:

> The Blackfoot complain very bitterly of the Hudson's Bay Company, and certainly not without reason, for the injustice of the tariff and the enormous difference between the price paid by a Cree and by a Blackfoot at the same Fort, for the same article. Also, they complain of the utter insufficiency of the goods that remain at the Fort during the summer months. (p. 409)

Later, on June 19, 1858, Palliser also commented on the advantageous trade situation for the Hudson's Bay Company during times of conflict between different tribes:

> The Indian warfare is advantageous rather than otherwise to the fur traders on the Saskatchewan. In the first place they get more horses in trade from the Indians, and in the second the Indians hunt very little in time of peace, as then the different tribes tent together and live in ease and content; but in war time every Indian works for ammunition and supplies of all kinds. (p. 234)

Palliser observed the changes occurring in the Treaty 7 area. He noted that the buffalo herds were beginning to be less dependable as a source of food for the Blackfoot Confederacy; that westward expansion of American settlers, traders, and miners was already encroaching on the Blackfoot Confederacy; and that the Roman Catholic and Wesleyan missionaries established "mission stations" (Spry, 1968, p. 223) in the area. In March 1858 he visited Reverend Thomas Woolsey's mission station at Pigeon Lake, where "the Thickwood Crees and Stoneys have made a few attempts at agriculture" (p. 223). While en route to Fort Edmonton, he met the Wesleyan missionary, Reverend Henry Bird Steinhauer, who, he noted, had established a "missionary station" at Lac La Biche near the Roman Catholic (Oblate) mission, and the small settlement was taking root in the area (p. 223). At Fort Edmonton in February 1859 Palliser met Father Lacombe from "the Catholic mission at Lake St. Ann's [sic]" and commented that "he spoke Cree well, and had obtained a good deal of influence . . . among the Indians" (p. 342) and the Métis. In the summer of 1858 Palliser met a group of Stoneys, of whom he wrote, "They have been converted to the Christian religion" (p. 293) by the Wesleyan missionary, Reverend Robert Terrill Rundle; and during his stay in the area he recorded that one of the Stoneys told him that "he had once guided Mr. Rundel [sic], the missionary to the Banff region (p. 293). Palliser observed of Reverend Rundle that he "must have been a very able and influential man, is spoken of among them [the Stoneys] with a reverence and enthusiasm to this day," and Palliser expressed his view that the missionaries were "excellent benevolent" people (Spry, 1968, p. 251).

Both Palliser and Dr. Hector expressed concern with the westward expansion and the encroachment into Blackfoot territory. Palliser urged that "constructive steps should be taken to meet the problem and forestall future trouble" (Spry, 1968, p. cxvii). Dr. Hector in his *Report on Indian Tribes* wrote that First Nation people should not be considered as "so many wild beasts, the natural evils of a new country, which are in time to be removed in the process of settlement"(p. cxvii). Hector suggested that there was time to establish a government in the territory whose responsibility would be to "consider the interests of Indian subjects of the Queen as well as those of the settlers . . . before the settlers pushed their way into Indian lands (p. cxviii).

In March 1858 Palliser wrote a *Confidential Despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies* and noted that although his mission was one of exploring, much

> had come under my notice both from experience in the country and intercourse with all classes English, French, Canadians, Half Breeds and Indians inhabiting the H. B. Territory, . . . [and I] therefore take the liberty of offering a few remarks and suggestions. (Spry, 1968, p. 513)

Palliser believed that the competitive trade market for furs and other goods and the illicit "spiritous liquor trade" had a "prejudicial effect morally on the Indian" and resulted in "misery and distruction [sic] of thousands of Indians . . . and [potentially] their annihilation" (p. 517). He suggested that a portion of the Hudson's Bay Company profits should be set aside for Indian education since the hunting and trapping efforts of First Nation people had contributed to the financial success of the Company. Furthermore, Palliser questioned that because the Hudson's Bay Company officials considered Indians "unfit from their habits and want of education to mix with white men . . . how it comes [about] that there has been no Systim [sic] of National education attempted by the Company" to assist the Indian people (p. 517). He argued that part of the Company's profits were "surely . . . Indian earnings" and that if, as the Company asserted,

> the Indians are not fit for society of civilized beings, ought not some portion of these . . . [profits] . . . be devoted to their education and benefit? I emphatically deny the incapacity and want of intellect in Indians . . . or their incapacity for instruction, and a settled life. (p. 517)

Palliser suggested that two Superintendents of Indian Education be appointed, one for the western side of the Rockies and one for the prairie region, and recommended further that a national fund be established for education of Indians as well as an Indian Council appointed to protect Indian interests (p. 519).

Similarly, Blakiston in his 1858 *Report* commented on education and noted, "education has, thanks to the former Wesleyan missionary, the Rev. Mr. Rundle, and his successor, the Rev. Thomas Wolsey [sic], made some little progress amongst them [Stoneys]; a few being able to read and write the Cree syllabic characters now in general use among the missions of the north-west" (Spry, 1968, p. 561). Blakiston wrote that he had communicated with the Stoneys, who informed him "that they would wish white people to come . . . to teach them to farm, make clothes, etc., so that their children might live, for the animals are getting every year more scarce" (p. 562). Blakiston's *Report* was completed at "Fort Carlton, Saskatchewan River, December 15, 1858," and although the British Colonial Office expressed concern regarding his having left the Palliser Expedition, his report was, nevertheless, published in Palliser's *Further Papers*, 1860.

From time to time throughout his expedition, Palliser informed members of the British government of his findings and observations as he travelled the prairies. He wrote that in his opinion, settlement in the Fertile Belt (the prairies) would "only be a work of time" and that "no obstacles exist to the construction of a railway from Red River to the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains" (Spry, 1968, pp. 521-526). Such information formed part of the report submitted to the British House of Commons and recorded in the British Parliamentary Papers of 1859, 1860, 1863, and 1865; and Palliser's *Confidential Despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies*, which referred specifically to education and his recommendations for an educational fund, was received by the Secretary for the Colonies at Downing Street, London. Palliser received an acknowledgement of his letter, but no reference was made to his observations or comments (p. 520).

In 1870 the Hudson's Bay Company Charter to the vast lands drained by rivers which flowed into Hudson Bay was not renewed by the British government. Subsequently, the Canadian government purchased the territory from the British government with a loan from the Imperial government. The Canadian government, aware of reports of the diminishing herds of buffalo, the infamous exploits along the Whiskey Trail, and the increasing number of American settlers who flocked to Montana and Oregon territories and across to the Pacific coast, wished to secure its recently purchased territory and gain an understanding of the issues associated with the prairies. In 1872 Colonel P. Robertson-Ross, Commanding Officer of the Militia of Canada and Adjutant General, was dispatched on *A Reconnaissance of the North-West Provinces and Indian Territories of the Dominion of Canada* (Chambers, 1906, p. 13). He traveled through "the country of the Blackfeet [sic] Indians" (p. 13) and estimated that their population comprised 2,350 men. He commented further that even though he considered them "bold and skilful horsemen" and in possession of "breech-loading rifles," he did not believe that the Blackfoot were a military threat to those travelling or settling in the area "since the Chiefs have control over the young men" (p. 13). However, due to the "changing state of affairs" (p. 14)—the departure of the Hudson's Bay Company—Robertson-Ross recommended that a government be established beyond the Province of Manitoba to ensure "security of life and property." He also recommended the establishment of the "supremacy of law" and order amidst American smugglers and traders and furthermore that "a presence of a certain force" be sent to the territory to maintain "security" of the Canadian territory and preserve peace (pp. 14-15). He suggested that

> one regiment of mounted riflemen, 550 strong, . . . would be sufficient to support the Government in establishing law and order in the Saskatchewan, preserving peace of the North-West Territory, and affording protection to the Surveyors, Contractors, and Railway Laborers [sic] about to undertake the great work of constructing the Dominion Pacific Railway. (p. 16)

The following year, in May 1873, the Canadian House of Commons passed a bill establishing a police force, the North-West Mounted Police. Prime Minister John A. Macdonald informed Parliament that the new body would be "an efficient police force for the rough and ready . . . enforcement of law and justice" in the western territories (Morton, 1998, p. 8). Expressing the Canadian government's policy toward the prairie First Nations, Lord Dufferin, the Governor General, wrote in December 1873:

> Even though the expense might be considerable, an expedition organized by Canada itself would have its advantages. In the first place the mere fact of putting forth her strength for the purpose of asserting her jurisdiction and repressing outrage in those wild districts, would flatter in a very legitimate manner the national pride of the Dominion. . . . In the next place we should appear upon the scene, not as the Americans have done, for the purpose of restraining and controlling the Indian tribes, but with the view of avenging injuries inflicted on the red man by the white. (Mayfield, 1998, p. 19)

Thus, in part as a result of the Cypress Hills Massacre in June 1873 and the concern about the unrest in the region expressed by the American Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, and Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Morris of the North-West Territories, the Canadian government implemented the act establishing the North West Mounted Police. By the spring of 1874, 275 men and horses, along with ox carts, wagons, field artillery, agriculture implements, and cattle, had assembled in Winnipeg, ready to commence their "March West" to the heart of Blackfoot territory (Morton, 1998, p. 9).

Lieutenant-Governor Morris, who urged Prime Minister Mackenzie to send a force to the North West, also suggested in a telegram to Canada's Justice Minister A. A. Dorion that a "messenger should go in advance" of the Force in order to inform the First Nations of the prairies and particularly the Blackfoot of their "objects" (Mayfield, 1998, p. 19). Dorion ultimately agreed to the request and asked the Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factors at Fort Ellice and Edmonton to open communications "of a friendly nature . . . with the Blackfoot and other tribes . . . by means of personal interviews" (Mayfield, 1998, p. 19) and the distribution of gifts. Morris asked the Wesleyan missionary, John McDougall, also to notify the Blackfoot of the Forces peaceful mission (Horrall, n.d., p. 22). McDougall visited a number of Blackfoot camps, including that of the Moccasin band and its leader Crowfoot, whom he informed "that a party of red-coated police . . . [had been] sent by the queen to stop the traders from selling liquor" (Dempsey, 1972,

p. 78) and to establish British justice for all men, White and Indian. In his book *On Western Trails in the Early Seventies*, McDougall recorded that Crowfoot was pleased in his heart that the whiskey trade would be stopped and that the establishment of a law which "treats the Indian the same as the white man makes us glad to hear, . . . [and we] are thankful" (p. 78).

On July 8, 1874, the North West Mounted Police left Winnipeg for Blackfoot territory, charged with carrying out law and order, ousting the Whiskey Traders, providing "moral influence . . . over the Indians," and on behalf of the Dominion of Canada offering to the Blackfoot Confederacy "goodwill and assurances that [their] lands will not be taken from them without treaties being made to their satisfaction" (Mayfield, 1998, pp. 20-21). On October 9, 1874, the North West Mounted Police, led by Assistant Commissioner James F. Macleod and accompanied by Jerry Potts, an interpreter, reached their destination—Fort Whoop Up. The fort was empty, and the whiskey traders, apprised of their imminent arrival, had left. Similarly, the Blackfoot made no overtures to contact the Mounted Police. Macleod and his troops followed the Old Man River, chose a site to build their first post, and prepared to spend the winter in the heart of Blackfoot territory. R. B. Nevitt, the 24-year-old surgeon who had accompanied the march west, wrote on October 1874, "We are right up in the country of the Blackfeet [sic] Indians," and "we have come to our journey's end at last, a beautiful place in the valley of the rivers" (Nevitt, 1974, p. 19).

During the fall of 1874 Chief Three Bulls, a Blood leader, was seemingly the first to establish contact with the North-West Mounted Police (see photograph 6-3). He visited Macleod to inform him of a whiskey trader still in business 50 miles away at Pine Coulee (Mayfield, 1998, p. 23). Following the arrest of the trader, demonstrating the commitment of the Mounted Police to maintaining law and order, Macleod issued, through his interpreter Jerry Potts, the notice that he wished to meet with the Chiefs of the Blood, Blackfoot, and Peigan nations. Subsequently, on December 1 a general council was held between Macleod and several Chiefs, including Chief Crowfoot. Macleod stated that Queen Victoria had sent the Mounted Police into their country to establish law and order and to protect The People in their land (Dempsey, 1972, p. 80).

Photograph 6-3. NWMP Officer, J. L'Heureux and Blackfoot Confederacy Chiefs at Fort Mcleod, 1885. (Courtesy of the Glenbow Museum)

Within a time space of less than 40 years, the people of the Blackfoot Confederacy and the Stoney and Tsuu T'ina nations had witnessed the growing number of Euro-Canadians within their midst. Some, such as Palliser, were assisted in their tasks by The People; others, such as Lacombe and McDougall, formed an ongoing relationship with The People. Individuals involved in activities such as painting and hunting were simply accommodated in their territory, while Macleod and his troops fulfilled the Queen's commitment to eradicate the whiskey traders from their land. Regardless of their purpose, all brought gifts to exchange with First Nation people, with whom they smoked the pipe, feasted, and told of Queen Victoria in a far-off land. The interplay of relationships would be a significant factor during the next few years leading to the signing of Treaty 7 in 1877 between Her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, and the Chiefs and Headmen of the Blackfoot, Blood, Peigan , Stoney, and Tsuu T'ina nations. An interaction which had also given The People a glimpse of the formal educational practices of Euro-Canadians, for as the Catholic and Protestant missionaries camped, preached, and taught the basics of reading and writing to some of The People both old and young, an understanding of formal education was manifested. The People, however, added this "new system" of learning to their own lifelong and holistic educational practices; it was additional to not a replacement for their own educational philosophy and methods, which fostered their own culture, language, community survival and family and community values. Treaty negotiations would bring to the forefront the values, beliefs, and way of life of the two parties; education would be a part of those negotiations.

CHAPTER VII

TREATY 7 NEGOTIATIONS

The signing of Treaty 7 on September 22, 1877, was the culmination of a series of treaties which for the Minister of the Interior, Hon. David Mills, completed "the unsurrendered portion of the territory" (Morris, 1991, p. 245) from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains and opened up the territories for settlement and the right of way for the railroad (see appendix E). Yet for Canada it was more than settlers and steam; as R. C. Brown (as cited in Macleod, 1976) argued, the signing of Treaty 7 was for the new Dominion the very "spirit of the National Policy" which "went much deeper than railways, immigrants and tariffs. Beneath these external manifestations was the will to build and maintain a separate Canadian nation on the North American continent" (p. 101). For the Treaty 7 First Nations, the negotiations were also about nationhood. The prairies had been their home "since time began," but it was not theirs to sell, for as Button Chief of the Blood tribe was recorded as stating during the treaty negotiations, "The Great Spirit, and not the Great Mother [the Queen] gave us this land" (Haydon, 1926, p. 67). The land was their home, yet through treaty negotiations, the First Nations would permit Canada and settlers to "share" their land in exchange for certain services.

Prelude to Negotiations

For almost a decade, Canada and The People discussed treaty making both in their own council and through third party emissaries. In November 1870, Sir John A. Macdonald wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, Adams, G. Archibald:

> We are looking anxiously for your report as to Indian titles both within Manitoba and without; and as to the best means of extinguishing the Indian titles in the valley of the Saskatchewan. Would you kindly give us your views on that point, officially and unofficially? We should take immediate steps to extinguish the Indian titles somewhere in the Fertile Belt in the valley of the Saskatchewan, and open it for settlement. (Pope, n.d., p. 141)

The Government of Canada's decision to enter treaties with the First Nations of the North-West Territories filtered across the prairies. In April 1871, W. A Christie, Chief Factor in charge of the Saskatchewan district of the Hudson Bay Company, wrote, "Many stories have reached the Indians through various channels, ever since the transfer of the North-West Territories to the Dominion of Canada, and they were most anxious to hear from myself what had taken place" (Morris, 1991, p. 169). At Fort Edmonton, Christie had the opportunity to meet members of various First Nations, particularly the Cree and Blackfoot Confederacy people who traded at the Hudson's Bay fort. The People reportedly asked Christie about the Government's intentions; he subsequently wrote:

> I told them that the Canadian government had as yet made no application for their lands or hunting grounds, and when anything was required of them, most likely Commissioners would be sent beforehand to treat with them, and that until then they should remain quiet and live at peace with all men. I further stated that Canada, in her treaties with Indians, heretofore, had dealt most liberally with them, and that they were now in settled houses and well off, and that I had no doubt in settling with them and the same liberal policy would be followed. (p. 169)

Christie wrote that it was "of most vital importance to the future of the country and the interest of Canada" that "the making of some treaty or settlement with the Indians who inhabit the Saskatchewan District" (p. 170) be entered into, if law and order were to be maintained in the west. The Saskatchewan District included the Treaty 7 territory. Christie based his argument on the potential for "an Indian war" given the movement of American traders, settlers, gold miners moving into the Red Deer region, and the fact that "the buffalo will soon be exterminated, and when starvation comes," the People would require assistance or they would "most assuredly help themselves" (p. 170) to settlers' property.

Christie and others were concerned with the potential disruption to settlers, and The People were also troubled by the incursion of people into their territory. At a general council of the Blackfoot Confederacy held during the fall of 1875, the members instructed that a letter be written on their behalf to the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories, Alexander Morris, regarding the influx of Métis and white settlers into their territory. The letter stated:

> In the winter of 1871 a message of Lieut. Gov. Archibald was forwarded to us on the Saskatchewan by Mr. I. W. Christie, a member of your Honourable Council, and the contents of said message was duly communicated to all your petitioners. . . . We understood said message to promise us that the Government, or the white

> man, would not take the Nations lands without a Council of Her Majesty's Indian Commissioner and the respective Chiefs of the Nation. (PAM.MG.12.B1. Box5/13.1265)

The Blackfoot Confederacy Chiefs stated further that "the white men have already taken the best location and built houses" in any place they pleased in our "hunting grounds" and requested that a "Council" be held with the Indian Commissioner in order to put "a stop to the invasion of our Country, till our Treaty be made with the Government" (PAM.MG.12.B1.Box5/13.1265). Their message indicates that the Blackfoot Confederacy were cognizant of the basic tenet of the numbered treaties—that their land could not be settled until a treaty had been agreed to between themselves and the Queen's representatives.

Correspondence was also forwarded to Ottawa, informing the government of the growing discontent on the prairies. The federal Indian Commissioner wrote to the Secretary of State to

> call the attention of His Excellency to the state of affairs in the Indian Country on the Saskatchewan. The intelligence that Her Majesty is treating with the Cheppewa [sic] Indians has already reached the ears of the Cree and the Blackfeet [sic] tribes. (Morris, 1991, p. 168)

Chief John Snow (1977) wrote, "By the time of Treaty Seven . . . we knew that Treaties One through Six had been signed with most of the other Indians of the North West—the Saulteaux, the Cree, and our relatives, the Plains Assiniboine" (pp. 24-25). Treaty discussions which all referenced education and resulted in the commitment of the Crown to provide schools and teachers once the First Nation people were settled on their respective reserves. The Treaty Commissioners informed those gathered at the Treaty 1 and 2 negotiations, "your Great Mother wishes….her red children to be happy and contented. She wishes them to live in comfort" (Morris, 1991, p. 28). When Wemyss Simpson, Indian Commissioner wrote of his experience negotiating treaties in Manitoba he wrote "the Indians….hav[e] a knowledge of the former treaty [and] desired to be dealt with in the same manner and on the same terms as those" of Treaty 1 (p. 41). At the Treaty 3 negotiations, the Chief of Lac Seul stated his people "wished a school-master to be sent them to teach their children the knowledge of the white man" (p. 49). The Chief and other present at the negotiations were assured by the Treaty Commissioner, "I have the authority to establish reserves....I will also establish schools whenever any band asks for them, so that your children may have the learning of the white man" (p. 58). Throughout the numbered treaty negotiations, Commissioners recorded that the Chiefs wanted their children to be taught (p. 64). The consistent response of the Commissioners was that "wherever you go to a Reserve, the Queen will be ready to give you a school and schoolmaster" (p. 93).

Aware not only of the earlier treaty negotiations and settlements with other First Nations, the Treaty 7 people were also cognizant of the increasing number of settlers moving westward. Religious representatives of the Roman Catholic and the Methodist Church who worked with The People also kept the government aware of the growing tension amidst the Blackfoot Confederacy. In a letter to Lieutenant Governor Morris, Father Scollen expressed the uneasiness of the members of the Confederacy: "The Blackfoot are extremely jealous . . . of their country . . . and [believe] that this country will be gradually taken from them without ceremony," and he informed Morris, "The Blackfoot themselves are expecting to have a mutual understanding with the Government" (Morris, 1991, p. 249). In 1875 Chief Crowfoot visited the Reverend John McDougall, and the latter wrote that the Chief "was full of questions regarding the future. I took time to explain to him the history of Canada's dealings with its Indian peoples thus far and assured him I expected in due time treaties would be made" (McDougall, 1970, p. 15) with the Blackfoot Confederacy.

National and International Factors

The signing of the early numbered treaties and the passage of the North-West Territories Act in 1875 changed the political makeup of the prairies. The act solidified Canada's role in the area and established permanent western institutions of government for the Territories, including elected representatives as the population increased. In the interim, a Board and Lieutenant-Governor carried out the primary administrative tasks, and

> the duties of the said Board are to suggest the general principles upon which the Indians in that portion of the Dominion are to be dealt with, to arrange all negotiations and treaties with any Indian Tribes with whom it may be deemed advisable to treat. (*Annual Report*, 1875, p. 8)

This planned approach of negotiating the numbered treaties with western First Nations was for Canada the only viable option. The fledgling Dominion, if she were to acquire title to the prairies, needed to do so through a "peaceful and orderly" manner, for "a wild west would certainly have bankrupted the government" (Macleod, 1976, p. 102). In July 1873, Alexander Morris wrote to the Minister of the Interior that "an Indian war would be disastrous to the Country [Canada], and would involve the Dominion in enormous expense" (PAM.MG.12.B2.Box2/4). R. C. Macleod (1976) in his article Canadianizing the West: The North-West Mounted Police as agents of the National Policy, 1873-1905 echoed this sentiments and argued:

> Canadian authorities were only too well aware that the United States government by 1870 was spending approximately 20 million dollars a year to subdue the Indians, more than the total Canadian budget. Obviously, too, the transcontinental railway would be much cheaper if the project was not hampered by . . . opposition from the Indians. (p. 102)

Awareness that the Sioux Nation, which was at war with the United States, had invited the Blackfoot "to take to the warpath with them" and the concern that the American policy of warfare would greatly affect Canada were evident in Morris' letter of July 11, 1876, to the Canadian Secretary of State (Haydon, 1926, pp. 62-63). Morris wrote:

> The recent destruction of General Custer and his entire command, will compel the United States to exert their utmost in a warfare with the Sioux, and the result will be their flight into our Territories. . . . Our position with an Indian war raging round us, with the danger of fear or sympathy, drawing our Indians into the contest, is one that deserves the most anxious thought on the part of the [Privy] Council, and active measures. . . . The Council must consider the effect of this warlike Sioux nation, beaten and discomfitted, . . . driven into our Territories, to carry on a predatory warfare across the borders, and to invade the hunting grounds of our Crees, Chippewas and Blackfeet [sic]. (PAM.MG.12.B.2.Box2/4.181)

Concerned for its own territorial sovereignty, unwilling to be embroiled in an "international" conflict without the assistance of Great Britain, and lacking the financial wherewithal for a series of wars with First Nations, Canada recognized that it was no match for the "most warlike and intelligent" (PAM.MG12.B.2.Box2/4.181) members of the Blackfoot Confederacy. Canada chose to continue treaty making with First Nations in order to both solidify its territory ownership and gain the support of First Nations for its plan to encourage settlement of the prairies.

Canada's Treaty Ambassadors

Canada vigorously pursued treaty making with the Blackfoot Confederacy and used non-Aboriginal people who were in contact with the First Nations to take forth its message of intent to negotiate with First Nations. For the most part, these individuals were missionaries, Hudson's Bay employees, and members of the North-West Mounted Police. George and John McDougall, Methodist missionaries, Father Scollen and Father Lacombe of the Oblates, and Jean L'Heureux, who lived from time to time among the Blackfoot, were commissioned by the Canadian government "for the purpose of negotiating the treaty with the Indians" (Morris, 1991, p. 172).

On October 20, 1874, the Reverend John McDougall wrote that he carried out the government's instructions to meet with the First Nations. In so doing, he travelled the western prairies and met with the Stoneys and the Blackfoot Confederacy, informing them of the government's intention to both rid the territory of the whiskey traders and establish law and order so that peace would be maintained in the country (PAM.MG.12.B1.Box4/13.901). The same year, his father, the Reverend George McDougall, advised Canada that he believed that law and order in the territories should be the government's first priority, followed by "settlement with the Indians" (PAM.MG.12.B1.Box3/13.606). The following year, 1875, John McDougall recorded that "in accordance with my instructions I proceeded with as little delay as possible" (PAM.MG.12.B1.Box5/13.1136) to meet with the Cree people to inform them of the Government's intent to deal with them in the near future. McDougall was assisted in the meetings by the Hudson Bay Company officials and during his travels, prior to the Treaty 6 signing, recorded that he met with 3,976 First Nation people in 22 communities and distributed gifts on behalf of Canada to those he visited (PAM.MG.12.B1. Box5/13.1136). John McDougall also recommended dates and locations for the proposed Treaty 6 signing. He itemized locations for meeting with the First Nations and included the Stoney bands. He suggested that a meeting should be held with the Head Chief, Bearspaw, and his people at Morley (PAM.MG.12.B2.Box2/4.331). Written indications suggested that the Stoneys, who were allied with the Cree, were to have signed an adhesion to Treaty 6 rather than Treaty 7 with the Blackfoot Confederacy, with whom they had a discordant relationship.

William McKay of the Hudson Bay Company was also "instructed" to inform the First Nations of the government's intent to negotiate treaties (PAM.MG.12.B1. Box4/13.901). During his "mission" he was accompanied by "two men taking with us four horses and two carts and a supply of Tea, Sugar, Tobacco, Ammunition and a few other articles to the amount of six hundred dollars ($600) to be distributed among the Plains Indians" (PAM.MG.12.B1.Box4/13.901). McKay stated:

> On my arrival at each camp of Indians I explained to them the reasons which have induced the Queen (our Great Mother) to send a body of Policemen into the North West Territories . . . for the preservation of law and order and prevention of aggression on the part of lawless Americans. . . . I also told them it was the wish of the Queen . . . to deal friendly and justly by them . . . and that their welfare is as dear to Her . . . as that of her white subjects. (PAM.MG.12.B1.Box4/13.901)

Canada's Decision to Negotiate Treaty 7

On June 28, 1877, the Minister of the Interior wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories that he had

> the honor to report that it having been decided that a treaty should be made this year with the Blackfeet [sic] and other Indians occupying the unceded territory north of the boundary line, east of the Rocky Mountains and west and south of Treaties Nos. 4 and 6. (PAC.RG.10.Vol.3650,file8347)

On July 12, 1877, in a letter from the Privy Council to Mills, the Clerk of the Privy Council noted:

> His Honor Lieut. Governor Laird was in the early part of the year instructed to notify the Indians that Commissioners would be sent in the Fall to negotiate a Treaty with them, . . . that he has accordingly notified the Indians to assemble at Fort Macleod on the 13th September next to meet the Commissioners to be appointed to negotiate a Treaty with them, . . . that the territory to be included in the proposed Treaty is occupied by the Blackfeet [sic], Crees, Surcees [sic] and Piegans [sic] and may be estimated approximately at about 35,000 square miles in area. (PAC.RG.10.Vol.3650,file8347)

The following month, on July 16, 1877, the Minister of the Interior wrote to David Laird, Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories, that he had

> the honor to inform you that His Excellency the Governor General in Canada has been pleased to appoint you and Lieut Colonel James F. Macleod, Commissioner of the Mounted Police, as Commissioners for the purpose of negotiating a treaty

> in the month of September next with the Blackfeet [sic] and other Indians occupying the unceded territory. (PAC.RG.10,Vol.3650,8347)

The Minister of the Interior also noted that "steps" had "been taken to have the requested clothing and other supplies at Fort Macleod;" as well,

> the Department [of the Interior] is still negotiating with Messrs. Baker and Company with a view to having the necessary funds [$4,000] for the payment of the money presented to the Indians at Fort Macleod by the first week of September. (PAC.RG.10,Vol.3650,file8347)

On August 1, 1877, Mills sent a telegram and a letter to Laird, informing him that

> I have the honor herewith to enclose the commission under the Great Seal authorizing you, with the assistance of Lieutenant Colonel James Farquhar Macleod of the North West Mounted Police, to negotiate a Treaty with the Blackfeet [sic], Blood and other Indians within the unsurrendered Territories. (PAC.RG.10.Vol.3650,file8347)

In a follow-up letter, Mills noted, "The Indians in this unsurrendered territory, as you are aware, have been notified to meet the Commissioners at Fort Macleod on the 13th September next" and instructed Laird to "endeavour to secure the surrender of the Country on terms most favourable to the Government" (PAC.RG.10.Vol.3650,file8347). Mills went on to state in his letter:

> Money provisions of the former Treaties with reference to presents of agricultural implements, waggons [sic], harness, etc, seem to have been agreed to by the Commissioners without due consideration of the circumstances and habits of the Indians. . . . [Therefore] in the unsurrendered Territory . . . it will be well to keep in view their probably future habits and the suitability to their condition of any supplies to be furnished them or any presents to be made to them in addition to their monetary annuity. But in my opinion, it is highly undesirable to do more than pay these distantly situated Indians, leaving them to purchase for themselves ammunition, fishing twine, agricultural implements, or whatever else they may require, from merchants and traders. The arrangements under existing Treaties for the purchase of supplies have greatly added to the labour and expense of the Department. (PAC.RG.10.Vol.3650,file8347)

In reference to the selection of reserve lands, Mills wrote:

> The Commissioners will do well to bear in mind that there is a large tract of country within the unsurrendered territory of a somewhat arid character and unsuitable for settlement, but over which it is said the buffalo are found to roam; and it would perhaps be well if the Reserves were selected from the fertile lands found at places with in this territory, or at least in its vicinity, where the Indians

> would be near and have easy access to their hunting grounds, where settlement would not be likely to take place at a very early period. (PAC.RG.10.Vol.3650, file8347)

On August 10, 1877, Colonel Macleod wrote to Mills to inform him that he had sent Major Irvine of the North-West Mounted Police to notify the Blackfoot people "of the intention of the Government to make a Treaty with them at Fort on the 17th" (PAC.RG.10.Vol.3650,file8347).

A Change of Venue

The People, however, did not simply acquiesce to the Macleod's demands, as is evident in his subsequent letter to Mills:

> Crowfoot and Old Sun two of the leading Chiefs of the Tribe returned here to report to me that it was the anxious desire of the Indians generally that the Treaty would be made at a point on the Bow River called the "Blackfoot Crossing" about 90 miles from here instead of at this place. (PAC.RG.10.Vol.3650,file8347)

Macleod also reported that he had discussed the proposed change of venue with the "North Pagan [sic] and Blood Indians," and all preferred Blackfoot Crossing because Fort Macleod was "surrounded" by "a large number of American traders who would cheat them out of their [treaty] money" (PAC.RG.10.Vol.3650,file8347). Concurring with the Chiefs' request, Macleod sent a messenger to notify them that the Treaty Commissioners would meet with The People on September 17, 1877, at Blackfoot Crossing.

The North-West Mounted Police

In preparation for the treaty meeting, the North-West Mounted Police stationed in both Fort Macleod and Fort Calgary were instructed to march to Blackfoot Crossing. On September 12, 1877, 80 officers and men of the armed police force travelled to Blackfoot Crossing, their task to set up in advance the government tents and to transport the necessary supplies required both for the Treaty Commissioners and for distribution at the treaty negotiations. Cecil Denny, who would later be the Indian Agent at Fort Macleod, was a member of the North-West Mounted Police F troop, which travelled from Fort Calgary to attend the treaty meeting. He arrived at Blackfoot Crossing on September 16, 1877, and wrote:

> The valley at the Blackfoot Crossing on the south side of the Bow River where the treaty was held is about three miles long by one wide, with plenty of timber along the river and good feed for horses on the hills to the south and in the valley itself. There must have been at least 1,000 lodges in camps on both sides of the river. They were plentifully supplied with meat, having only just left a large buffalo herd down the stream to the east. Their horses, herded day and night, covered the uplands to the north and south of the camp in thousands. It was a stirring and picturesque scene: great bands of grazing horses, the mounted warriors, threading their way among them, and, as far as the eye could reach, white Indian lodges glimmering among the trees along the river bottom. (Denny, 1994, p. 92)

Denny also noted that "tribes represented were Blackfeet [sic], Bloods, Piegans [sic], Sarcees, and Stonies" (p. 92). The Blood chiefs and their parties were the last to arrive at Blackfoot Crossing and arrived on September 21, 1877. Denny, like others who attended the treaty negotiations, also noted that the Stonies were "camped apart from the Blackfeet, with whom they were not on very good terms"(p. 92) at a distance of two miles from the main Blackfoot Confederacy gathering.

Guests, Entrepreneurs, and Horse Traders

Besides The People, many others had also journeyed to Blackfoot Crossing. Denny (1994) noted that

> traders from both the north and south displayed their stocks in tents, while white men from Montana had brought in bands of horses for trade. . . . I. G. Baker & Company and T. C. Powers were both occupying large hastily-built stores with log walls and canvas roofs, well stocked with goods. (p. 92)

A large tent was erected for the treaty meeting; as well, tents were set up for the Treaty Commissioners and their Mounted Police escort and to house special guests, which included the Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Hardisty, and his family. The wives of both Macleod and John McDougall were also present at the Blackfoot Crossing negotiations.

Blackfoot Crossing

On Saturday, September 15, 1877, Laird and Macleod, escorted by 60 North-West Mounted Police, travelled from Fort Macleod to Blackfoot Crossing (Denny, 1994, p. 92). Laird wrote of his first impression of Blackfoot Crossing:

> I surveyed the clear waters of the stream, the fuel and shelter which the wood afforded, the excellent herbage on hill and dale, and the Indians camped in the vicinity crossing and re-crossing the river on the "ridge" with ease and safety, I was not surprised that the Blackfeet [sic] were attached to the locality, and desired that such an important event in their history as concluding a treaty with Her Majesty's Commissioners should take place at this spot. (Morris, 1991, p. 253)

For The People, Blackfoot Crossing was an historical campsite, sheltered in the Bow River Valley. Its lush environment provided the nourishment necessary for daily living and for spiritual survival.

Customs

As the gathering at Blackfoot Crossing increased in numbers, both entities carried out their rituals signifying the solemnity of the occasion. The Mounted Police hoisted the Union Jack atop the meeting tent, where table and chairs were arranged for the Treaty Commissioners' party. The Commissioners wore suits and hats, and the Mounted Police were dressed in their finest parade attire, a custom still adhered to today at treaty payment ceremonies. Morris (1991) wrote, "The presence of the force as an emblem and evidence of the establishment of authority in the North-West was of great value" (p. 196). And "half an hour before the time appointed" (p. 255), the cannon was fired to indicate that the meeting was set to start on September 17, 1877. William Parker, a member of the North-West Mounted Police contingent at Blackfoot Crossing, recorded that

> about seventy Mounties on their horses were formed in two lines facing each other in front of the council tent and about forty feet apart. This made a passageway for the Indian chiefs and head men to come right to the council tent and make their speeches. A vast crowd of women and children followed behind the chiefs. (Dempsey, 1973, p. 41)

The First Nations also carried out their own customs preceding, during, and following the treaty negotiations. Some of their members painted themselves both as a decoration and as part of the ceremonies, for, as Cecil Many Guns recorded, "Paint was central to the spiritual life of the Peigan. The people prayed, offered cloth, and presented themselves in humility to the spirits" (Treaty 7 Elders & Tribal Council, 1996, p. 87). During the gathering at Blackfoot Crossing, The People prayed to the Mother Earth and used berries "to honour the earth's spirit" (p. 89). The Chief and Headmen also invited the Treaty Commissioners to partake in their ceremonies, and together they smoked the pipe. "The pipe was considered to be a most sacred artifact: No one can just smoke it. We cannot lie when we smoke it" (p. 89), Frankie Turning Robe of the Siksika Nation recorded in 1996. For the Treaty 7 people gathered at Blackfoot Crossing, "smoking the peace pipe means there are no hard feelings. The pipe ceremony is viewed as a most solemn ceremony, as it reconfirms "faith in the great spirit" (p. 88).

The Meeting Begins

When the meeting began on September 17th, the Chiefs moved "forward first and were introduced to the Commissioners." Laird addressed the gathering and noted that whereas the "meeting was well attended" by the Blackfoot and Stoney tribes, "few of the Bloods, Sarcees or Piegans [sic] had arrived"; thus he would not "unduly press forward the negotiations, but wait until Wednesday to give the others time to arrive" (Morris, 1991, p. 256). He offered those gathered rations; however, "Crowfoot and some other Chiefs under his influence would not accept any rations until they would hear what terms the Commissioners were prepared to offer them" (p. 256). Laird wrote that he understood that Crowfoot and the others declined the food because, "if the Indians were fed by the bounty of the Government, they would be committed to the proposals of the Commissioners" (p. 256). Food was, however, partaken of by the Cree Chief Bobtail, who, along with his followers, had journeyed to Blackfoot Crossing to sign an adhesion to Treaty 6. Chief Bobtail camped apart from the Blackfoot Confederacy gathering and signed adhesion to Treaty 6 on September 25, 1877.

On Tuesday, September 18, Laird met with the Treaty 7 people, and "an outline was given of the terms proposed for their acceptance, . . . [informing] them we did not expect an answer that day, but we hoped to hear from them tomorrow" (Morris, 1991, p. 157). A meeting was arranged for 2:00 p.m. on Wednesday. Prior to the arranged meeting, however, Laird met with some of the representatives and

> explained the terms outlined to them yesterday, dwelling especially upon the fact that by the Canadian Law their reserves could not be taken from them, occupied or sold, without their consent. They were also assured that their liberty of hunting over the open prairie would not be interfered with, so long as they did not molest settlers and others in the country. (p. 257)

Laird invited the Chiefs to comment on the proposal. Button Chief of the Blood nation requested that his people be reimbursed by the Mounted Police for the wood which they had cut down and utilized for their own purposes, to which Laird recorded that he replied, "On the contrary; . . . if there should be any pay in the matter it ought to come from the Indians to the Queen for sending them the Police" (pp. 257-258).

Opposition to Treaty Signing

The following day Laird learned that some of The People were opposed to making the treaty. Cecil Denny wrote, "More than once it looked as if all chance of concluding a treaty would have to be abandoned, the Indians threatening to leave the ground" (Denny, 1994, p. 93). Earlier in a private letter to Sir John A. Macdonald, Morris had also expressed his concern regarding negotiations with First Nations, and in *Canada's First Nations*, Olive Dickason (1992) cited Dawson's speech in the House of Commons:

> Any one who, in negotiating with these Indians, should suppose he had mere children to deal with, would find himself mistaken. In their manner of expressing themselves they make use of a great deal of allegory, and their illustration may at times appear childish enough, but in their actual dealings they are shrewd and sufficiently awake to their own interests, and, if the matter should be one of importance, affecting the general interests of the tribe, they neither reply to a proposition, nor make one themselves, until it is fully discussed and deliberated upon in Council by all the Chiefs. (p. 276)

At noon on Thursday, Crowfoot, accompanied by L'Heureux, who acted as the interpreter, visited Laird's tent and "asked for explanations on some points" (Morris, 1991, p. 258).

And All Were Gathered

On Friday, September 21, the Chief of the South Bloods, Red Crow, arrived at Blackfoot Crossing, completing the representation of the major bands within the Blackfoot Confederacy. In the afternoon Laird and Macleod met with the Chiefs and Head Men of the Nations gathered at Blackfoot Crossing, and the First Nation leaders put forth their request for cattle, guns, ammunition, tobacco, axes, and money. The Stonies requested "agricultural implements and seed," to which Laird agreed, noting that "these things may be understood as merely applicable to that tribe'" whereas "the Blackfeet [sic] and Bloods asked for nothing of this kind; they preferred cattle" (Morris, 1991, p. 262). In his letter to the Minister of the Interior, Laird noted:

> The number of cattle promised may appear large; but when it is considered that cows can be readily purchased at Fort McLeod [sic] for twenty or twenty-five dollars per head, and their delivery to the Indians will cost an inconsiderable sum, the total expenses of supplying the articles promised by this treaty will, I am convinced, cost less than those under either Treaty Number Four or Number Six. (p. 262)

Following the discussions regarding the First Nation treaty demands, Laird urged them to sign the proposed treaty and stated that he would "prepare the treaty and bring it to-morrow for signature," and Macleod would meet with the "head Chiefs at their camps, and consult them separately as to the localities they might desire to select" (Morris, 1991, p. 259) for their reserves.

The Final Negotiations

On Saturday, September 22, 1877, Laird noted that "the assemblage of Indians was large"; the Chiefs and Headmen sat "close in front of" (Morris, 1991, p. 259) the Treaty Commissioners' tent as those assembled proceeded to conclude the treaty. Laird told The People that "the conditions of the treaty having been interpreted to the Indians" (p. 259), he would accept those delegated by the First Nations as signatories to the Treaty. The Commissioners signed Treaty 7 first. L'Heureux, "being familiar with the Blackfoot language, attached the Chiefs' names to the document at their request and witnessed to their marks" (p. 259). As the main signing was being completed, "a salute was fired from the field guns in honor of the successful conclusion of the negotiations" (p. 259). As Laird shook hands with the Chiefs and Headmen, the band played "God Save the Queen;" later the Treaty Commissioners presented the Chiefs with their "medals, flags and uniforms," and the Mounted Police were delegated to pay the $12 treaty money to each person (p. 260). In total, 4,329 individuals were paid treaty at Blackfoot Crossing, at a cost of $52,954 to the Government of Canada.

Two Nations, Two Discourses

The gathering at Blackfoot Crossing had resulted in major changes for The People of Treaty 7 and for Canada. Through negotiations, the Treaty 7 territory had been opened up to settlers, railroad construction commenced unfettered across the prairies, and Canada stretched uninterrupted from sea to sea. David Laird documented the items agreed to at Blackfoot Crossing in the written Treaty 7 agreement. As Laird recorded his understanding of what was agreed to at Blackfoot Crossing, The People also recorded in their oral history the promises made at Blackfoot Crossing. Chief Crowfoot stated at Blackfoot Crossing:

> Great Father! Take pity on me with regard to my country, to the mountains, the hills and the valleys, to the prairies, the forests and the waters, to all the animals that inhabit them, and do not take them from myself or my children forever. (Blackfoot Crossing Historical Park, n.d., p. 26)

John Snow (1977) wrote, "Certainly, we requested, and understood that we had been promised, the continuation of our traditional life of hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering berries, plants and herbs in our traditional hunting grounds" (p. 33). The People had also signed Treaty 7 to "make peace between us," to "share" the land, and to secure a new livelihood for their people in the wake of the depleting buffalo herds (p. 29)—a livelihood which, in part, would be built on education, for Lieutenant-Governor Laird promised that "instructors" would be sent to teach The People to read and learn the ways of the "white man" (Morris, 1991, p. 275). Snow argued, "My people, who had an oral tradition and had honoured verbal agreements in the past, thought that the government would also honour what was spoken during the treaty making" and believed the missionaries who said, "The Queen's government will honour the promises in the treaties" (pp. 28-29). Macleod also assured The People that the promises made by the Treaty Commissioners will "be carried out in the future; . . . every promise will be solemnly fulfilled as certainly as the sun now shines down upon us from the heavens (p. 275). As the Treaty negotiations ended, Laird addressed the gathering of almost 5,000 people:

> The Great Spirit has made all things–the sun, the moon, and the stars, the earth, the forests, and the swift running rivers. It is by the Great Spirit that the Queen rules over this great country. . . . The Great Spirit has made the white man and the red man brothers, and loves all her children, white man and red man alike; she wishes to do them all good. . . . The Great Mother heard that the buffalo were being killed very fast, and to prevent them from being destroyed her Councillors have made a law to protect them. This law is for your good. . . . This will save the buffalo, and provide you with food for many years yet. . . . But in a very few years the buffalo will probably be all destroyed. . . . The Queen wishes you to live in the future in some other way. She wishes you to allow her white children to come and live on your land and raise cattle, and should you agree to this she will assist you to raise cattle and grain, and thus give you the means of living when the buffalo are no more. . . . If you sign the treaty every man, woman and child will get twelve dollars each. . . . Chiefs and Councillors will be paid a larger sum than this; Chiefs will get a suit of clothes, a silver medal, and flag, and every third year will get another suit. A reserve of land will be set apart for yourselves and your cattle; . . . for every five persons one square mile will be allotted on this reserve, on which they can cut the trees and brush for firewood and other purposes. . . . Roads will be cut through. . . . Ammunition will be issued to you each year; . . . and teachers will be sent to you to instruct your children to read. I have now spoke. (pp. 267-269)

The treaties, including Treaty 7, were, as James Youngblood Henderson (1994) has argued, "consensual arrangements between nations for the sharing of a territory and creating a new order" (p. 53)—arrangements which were recorded in different forms. Laird wrote the Treaty 7 document, and the First Nations recorded the negotiations and agreement orally. Regardless of the method of recording, Alexander Morris, recognizing the oral skill of the First Nations and the trust that they had placed in the Treaty Commissioners, wrote to Sir John A. Macdonald on July 24, 1874, stating, "I regard it as of vital importance that the existing Treaties should be carried out to the letter" (PAM.MG.12.B2.Box2/4.94). But the government seemed to pay little heed to Morris' request to respect the signed treaty agreements. The lack of commitment to and fulfillment of the treaty "vital" promises was evidenced in Canada's commitment to the treaty commitment to educational services. The failure to fully implement the commitment to education following the mutual agreement at Blackfoot Crossing gave rise to the contentious relationship between First Nations and the Government of Canada. Ultimately, Canada's failure to implement education as a treaty right affected the very livelihood and survival of The People. The joyous dancing, handshaking, smoking of the pipe, and ceremonies that accompanied the signing of Treaty 7 dissipated and the new relationship between the two parities threatened the very existence of The People.

CHAPTER VIII

. . . TEACHERS WILL BE SENT TO YOU . . .[5]

The spirit of promised opportunity and education, and the commitment to assist the people of Treaty 7 in meeting future challenges manifested with the treaty signing at Blackfoot Crossing dissipated as winter encroached. The old life crumbled, the buffalo herds dwindled to near extinction, settlers moved into the territory, and the freedom of the prairies gave way to isolated reserves. The $12 signing bonus paid to each person upon the signing of the Treaty in 1877 was reduced to a $5 annuity payment in 1878 (see photograph 8-1). The proud and once powerful and prosperous people of the Blackfoot Confederacy and their allies the Tsuu T'ina faced starvation and were reduced to "eating gophers, mice and Badgers" (Dempsey, 1983a, p. 2). The Stoney nation faired marginally better. Two years after the signing of Treaty 7, reserves were yet to be surveyed, and neither education nor any other services had been provided to The People. In the spring of 1879, the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, wrote that the "condition of the Indian population of the Northwest . . . [was] . . . the subject of serious consideration by the Government," and, as a result, the federal government decided to reorganize Indian Affairs within the territory "covered by treaties 4, 6, 7" (Glenbow, Dewdney Papers, Vol. II, p. 180). The then Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald appointed Edgar Dewdney, an engineer, former Conservative Member of Parliament, and future Minister of the Interior responsible for Indian Affairs, to the position of Indian Commissioner for the North-West Territories. Dewdney's task was to travel to the Treaty 7 area, review the situation, and establish at Fort Macleod and Fort Calgary Indian Farming Agencies whose responsibility would be to encourage The People to embark upon a sedentary and agrarian lifestyle (Dempsey, 1983a, p. 1). Colonel Macleod of the North-West Mounted Police was chosen to accompany the Indian Commissioner on his journey in recognition of "his thorough knowledge of the country," as well as his "acquaintance with the

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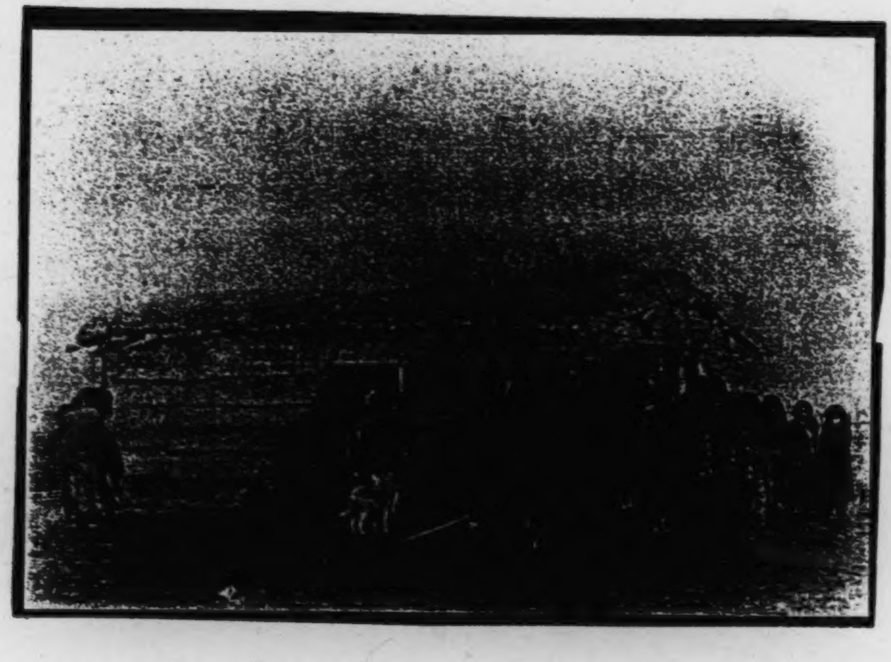
[5] From David Laird's address to the Treaty 7 people on September 17, 1877. Morris, 1991, p. 269.



Photograph 8-1. Treaty Payment, North-West Territories, ca. 1870s.

(Courtesy National Archives of Canada)

character and condition of the several tribes" of the area (Glenbow, Dewdney Papers, Vol. II, p. 180).

Settlement on Treaty 7 Reserves

On May 19, 1879, the newly appointed Indian Commissioner and his party left Toronto via the American route for the prairies. Along the way, Dewdney wrote in his *Diary* that he admired the scenery, stayed at the "best hotels" in Duluth, saw the "finest houses" and took time to "do a little shopping" (Dempsey, 1983a, p. 2). As he crossed the American west, Dewdney recorded in his *Diary* that he saw "eight buffalo" and "a very large lodge of Indians; . . . must have been 5,000; . . .looked very picturesque, the round lodges on the prairie" (Part 1, pp. 2-4). On June 9, 1879, Dewdney arrived at Fort Benton, Montana, "a long scattering town," where he visited the home of friends of Colonel James Macleod. The home, much to his surprise, was "very comfortable and handsomely furnished equal to anything in Ottawa," furthermore, he was taken aback to "find so nice a person this far west" as his host (Part 1, p. 6). Two weeks later Dewdney left Fort Benton for the North-West Mounted Police Post at Fort Walsh. Along the way his party "continually met hungry Indians" and "saw a few antelope but no buffalo" other than "lots of old dried carcases all over the prairie" (Part 1, p. 6). Dewdney arrived at Fort Walsh on June 26, 1879, to learn that a group of Chiefs from the Assiniboine, Cree, and Blackfoot nations had requested a meeting (*Annual Report,* 1879, p. 76). Later, when the First Nation leaders met with Dewdney, he recorded in his *Diary*, the Chiefs rode into Fort Walsh "in procession & looked very pretty, all mounted and carrying their Treaty flag with them" (Part 1, p. 6). Dewdney noted that farming was discussed at the meeting and that he believed that the First Nation people were "anxious to get to work. Gave them some Beef and flour. They are awful beggars, but I think they are really hungry" (Part 1, p. 6). On July 2, 1879, Dewdney signed an adhesion to Treaty 6 with Little Pine and Lucky Man's bands and distributed "some Beef, Tobacco, Tea & Sugar to those who took the Treaty" (Part 1, p. 7). The Indian Commissioner began to find Fort Walsh "very tiresome" and passed his time playing cricket with the "recruits" (Part 1, p. 7).

Dewdney left Fort Walsh and travelled to Fort Macleod where he met Jean L'Hereux, with whom he would correspond on matters relating to the Blackfoot over the next decade. L'Heureux, who had lived with the Blackfoot for a number of years, informed Dewdney that the people at Blackfoot Crossing were facing difficult times. A number of the people from the Blackfoot Confederacy were camped in the vicinity of Fort Macleod, and Dewdney witnessed the devastation the absence of buffalo from the territory had inflicted on The People's way of life. He met with members of the Peigan nation, and Dewdney wrote they "told me they had sold their horses and pawned their guns to get food and now had nothing" (Dempsey, 1983a, pp. 8-9). He subsequently distributed food to the Peigans and other members of Treaty 7. On July 16, 1879, Dewdney travelled to Blackfoot Crossing and met with Jean L'Heureux, Father Scollen, the Catholic priest, and Lafayette French, all of whom informed him of the "awful state of the Indians," and later he wrote that The People

> had been selling their horses for a mere song, eating gophers, mice, Badgers & for the first time have hunted the Antelope. . . . One woman came to French and said she must have food for her children. . . . Strong young men were now so weak that some of them could hardly walk—[men] who last winter were fat and healthy are now skin & bone. (Part l, p. 9)

After distributing beef to The People at Blackfoot Crossing, Dewdney wrote in his *Diary* that he made "1400 human beings happy for a time" (Part 1, p. 9). The following day Dewdney met with Crowfoot and the Peigan Chief, Eagle Tail, along with the headmen from the two nations. Crowfoot, Dewdney reported, said that his people were obliged to beg for food due to the absence of buffalo in the area and that because his people had signed Treaty 7, he believed that they had a right to ask for food given their desperate situation (Part l, p. 11). Dewdney distributed food but also, in line with his mandate to encourage First Nation people to farm, arranged for Mr. French to break up land so that "the next year the Indians will be able to help put in the crops and plough" Part l, p. 9) and thus feed themselves.

On returning to Fort Macleod, Dewdney met with the "Pagan [sic] Chief and Jerry Potts [the interpreter] to settle about the Reserve" (Dempsey, 1983a, p. 8). The Peigans, like the other Nations who signed Treaty 7, were promised reserves; however, at the time of their meeting with Dewdney, the Government of Canada had yet to initiate a survey of the reserve boundaries. Some of the Treaty 7 people, particularly the Peigans, had started to break up land in preparation for planting crops. Subsequently, Dewdney arranged for the boundaries of the Peigan reserve to be surveyed and wrote that the Peigans "want to

Farm & I fancy the ones most likely to get on in that direction," as a result of their meeting, Dewdney arranged for "cattle and tools . . . and ammunition" (Dempsey, 1983b, p. 11)—all items identified in Treaty 7—to be provided to the Peigan nation. Dewdney hired farming instructors to teach husbandry to the Treaty 7 people and by 1881 farming instructors were employed on each of the Treaty 7 reserves. Dewdney also opened a farm account with T. C. Powers & David to provide not only food, but also farming implements and cattle to the Treaty 7 people. Treaty 7 stipulated that The People were to be provided with

> two hoes, one spade, one scythe, and two hay forks, and for every three families, one plough and one harrow, and for each Band, enough potatoes, barley, oats, and wheat, . . . to be given, once for all, for the encouragement of the practice of agriculture; . . . and further, Her Majesty agrees that the said Indians shall be supplied as soon as convenient, after any Band shall make due application therefor, with the following cattle for raising stock: . . . for every family of five persons, and under, two cows; for every family of more than five persons, and less than ten persons, three cows; for every family of over ten persons, four cows. (Treaty 7, 1966, p. 5)

The 1881 *Annual Report* for Indian Affairs showed that $6,871.87 was expended by the federal government on farming implements, cattle herding, seed, grain, ammunition, and twine on behalf of Treaty 7 members (pp. 132 -133). While farming instructors were hired and farming implements purchased, as evidenced by the 1881 financial statistics, no initiative, at this time, was undertaken by Canada to establish schools or provide teachers as was promised in Treaty 7. Facing starvation and their economy in disarray, The People had little hope of implementing section 63(6) of the 1876 Indian Act which enabled Chiefs and Councils, subject to confirmation by the Governor in Council, to establish rules and regulations for "construction and repair of school houses."

On July 24, 1879, Dewdney left Fort Macleod for Fort Calgary to meet with Colonel Macleod. At the meeting, Macleod requested that he be allowed to distribute food to treaty people from the North-West Mounted Police posts. After "a long and rather warm discussion," Dewdney stated that he "refused to take the responsibility of giving *Carte Blanche* to all the posts to ration all the Indians" because he did not intend "to lead the Indians to believe they would be fed regular rations whether they worked or not" (Dempsey, 1983a, p. 11). He informed Macleod that he should issue food only "when it was found that Indians were really starving, to those who would work & to the sick & infirm who had no friends & who could not work" (p. 11).

While in the Fort Calgary area, the Indian Commissioner also met with the Stoneys, who traditionally hunted in the wooded mountainous area and did not rely solely on the buffalo. Dewdney wrote that the Stoneys were "good Indians & more sensible than any of the others" since they had "meat put away" (Dempsey, 1983a, p. 11). He also met Chief Bull's Head of the Tsuu T'ina and had "some difficulty in convincing him to go to the Crossing" because Bull's Head wished to have a reserve for his people separate from that of the Siksika Nation (p. 11). A few days later, when the Tsuu T'ina people had not left for Blackfoot Crossing, Dewdney wrote in his *Diary* the "Sarcees [Tsuu T'ina] not moving but they are getting no grub"; similarly, a group of the Blackfoot who were in Calgary had also been issued "their grub to leave with & will get no more" (p. 11). From Calgary Dewdney travelled to the North-West Mounted Police post at Battleford, where he arranged a "Conference" to discuss the "Indian situation" (Dempsey, 1983b, p. 6) with Colonel Macleod and David Laird, Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories. As a result of the "Conference," a contract was established for the provision of flour, cattle, and pemmican for the people of Treaty 6.

Returning to Fort Macleod, Dewdney hired individuals as Indian agents. As employees of the Department of Indian Affairs, they were expected to be "married men and men of unquestionable morality and integrity" (Glenbow, Dewdney Papers, Vol. V, p. 1100) responsible for establishing a government presence amidst the Treaty 7 communities as well as the administration of all matters relating to First Nations, including land management, distributing treaty annuities, and encouraging settlement on reserves. The agents were to perform their duties "in an adequate manner" in order to "effect a savings" (*Annual Report*, 1868, pp. 1-2) of monies voted by Parliament for Indian Affairs. Between 1879 and 1881 the Indian agent for Treaty 7 was Norman T. Macleod, whose agency office was located in Fort Macleod. In 1881 he was replaced by Cecil Denny, who had travelled west with the North-West Mounted Police in 1874. Subsequently, Indian agents were hired for each of the three Blackfoot Confederacy nations, and in 1885 one Indian agent was appointed for the Sarcee Agency which served the Tsuu T'ina and Stoney people.

Father Scollen and others continued to inform Dewdney of the "desperate" situation of the people at Blackfoot Crossing. The Indian Commissioner agreed to undertake a second visit to Blackfoot Crossing (Dempsey, 1983b, p. 12). On October 11, 1879, Dewdney "arrived at Crossing at 2 p.m. Found the camp very quiet, no smoke from any lodge" and the people "in a most pitable [sic] condition" (p. 12), and some of the people were dying from hunger. Dewdney met with Chiefs Crowfoot, Old Sun, and Heavy Shield and informed them that the government would provide food for their people only if there were no buffalo. His *Diary* does not mention the Chiefs' response. Dewdney returned to Fort Macleod and during the next six weeks travelled throughout Treaty 7 territory. He noted in his *Diary* that prairie fires had left the land, burnt with no grass for the horses, and he had seen only a few buffalo (pp. 13-14). Before he left the area to return to Ottawa, Dewdney met with the

> Blackfoot Chiefs and gave them some flour and tea. I told them they must go off & hunt; that no more supplies would be issued and advised them to put by some meat; that the supplies we have are for Indians working in the Spring. They promised to go off. (p. 14)

Leaving some of the old and the infirm with caregivers at Blackfoot Crossing, the Blackfoot and other members of the Blackfoot Confederacy trekked to Montana in search of the buffalo. During the next two years, 1879 to 1881, The People eked out a living south of the international boundary. Once the southern outreaches of the Blackfoot traditional buffalo hunting grounds, the area was by 1879 almost devoid of buffalo. Unable to secure enough buffalo meat for his people, Crowfoot sent word to Dewdney in 1880 that he and his people would return to Canada; however, the Blackfoot were advised to stay with the buffalo "herds" in Montana (Jobson, 1985, p. 14). The 1880 *Annual Report* stated that

> the Blackfeet [sic] nation . . . crossed the boundary line in the autumn of last year in pursuit of the buffalo, and remained in American Territory during the winter. [They have] . . . communicated their intention of remaining in the buffalo country of the United States during the present winter. It is, however, thought that these Indians will probably find themselves obliged to return earlier than they intended. (*Annual Report*, 1880, p. 2)

Facing starvation, in 1881 Crowfoot led 1,064 destitute people back to Canada to settle on the reserves allocated to them by the federal government. During the two-year sojourn, "at least a thousand Blackfoot had died" (Jobson, 1985, p. 14). The 1881 *Annual Report* recorded that "the number of Indians who lately arrived from across the line . . . in a course of a few weeks" resulted in approximately 2,500 people converging upon Fort Macleod; rations quickly were depleted, creating tension between The People and the Indian agent (p. xxv) (see photograph 8-2). The newly appointed Indian agent, Cecil Denny, distributed food to the Blackfoot and, as was federal government policy, encouraged them to settle on the land set aside for their reserve and embark upon an agricultural lifestyle.

Treaty 7 members diligently cleared the land and planted crops both on the collective farm land organized by the farming instructors and on their individual plots (see photograph 8-3). Some of The People worked for local White ranchers moving into the area, and others pursued work in the growing community of Calgary. The Indian agent reported to Dewdney on December 29, 1880, of the progress made in the Treaty 7 area, and he noted that on the "Piegan (sic) Reservation" a farming instructor had been hired who gave "his attention . . . to the Indians breaking patches of land for them to cultivate for themselves, to encourage them in cutting timber for houses and showing them how to build them" (*Annual Report*, 1880, p. 97). By 1880 the Peigans had built 60 houses, in which some of their people lived, had broken 50 acres of land for spring planting, had cut fencing rails, and correspondingly had enclosed their own plots; and, furthermore, "several" Peigans had "crossed ploughed" (pp. 97-98) plots with their own horses and were also raising cattle. The following year the *Annual Report* recorded that the Peigans had constructed a total of 82 homes; however, despite these efforts, using the 1882 population statistics of 916 people and approximately seven people to one dwelling, half of the Peigan population still lived in their traditional tipis, worn and tattered because the lack of buffalo skins prevented repairs to existing tipis or the tanning of skins for new ones (pp. 52-53) . Likewise, the Bloods, the Indian agent reported, had built "forty-five houses," and he noted that he "had tried to induce" the Bloods to trade their horses for "cooking stoves" *(Annual Report*, 1881, p. xxv) for their new homes, but to no avail. The next year the Bloods, whose population was estimated at 3,500, had a total of 82 houses built for their people (*Annual Report*, 1882, pp. 52-53). They had also cleared land and planted potatoes and turnips; however, because the Bloods had not yet had "a reserve

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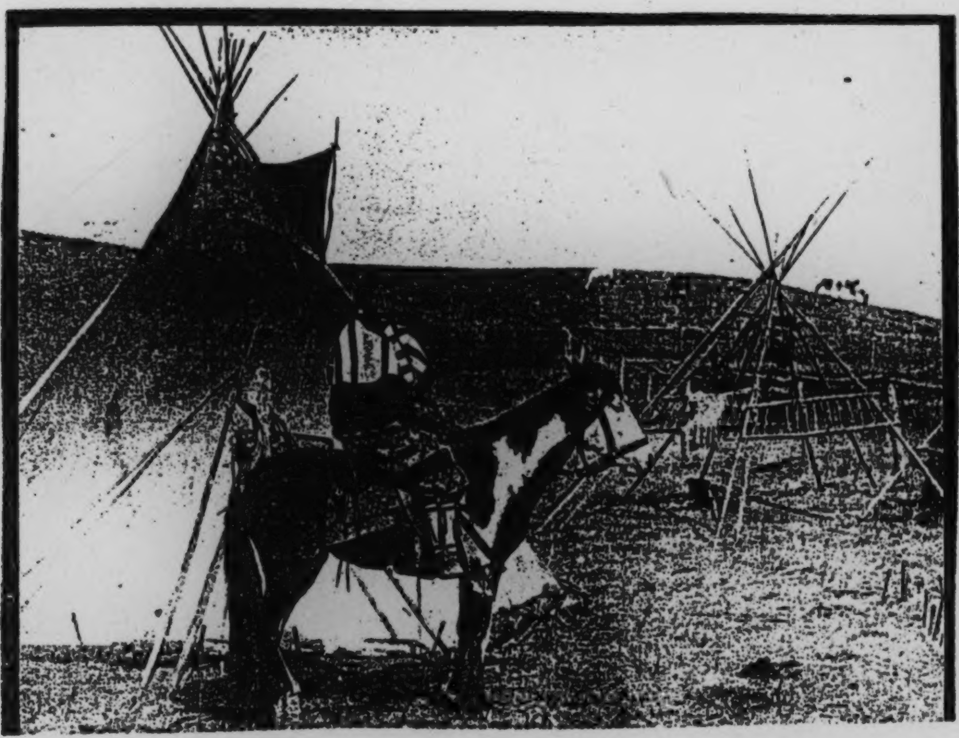
Photograph 8-2. The starvation years, Blackfoot near Medicine Hat, 1884.
(Courtesy National Archives of Canada)



Photograph 8-3. Tsuu T'ina fenced plots.

(Courtesy National Archives of Canada)

assigned to them" (*Annual Report*, 1880, p. 97), the housing construction and farm work were recorded as being in the area of Fort Macleod. The Stoney people, who numbered 610, had built 48 houses; and at Blackfoot Crossing the Blackfoot, whose population was recorded as 1,700, had constructed 11 homes. The Tsuu T'ina, who numbered 479, demanded their own reserve rather than sharing with the Blackfoot and continued to reside in their worn tipis until a permanent reserve was assigned to them (*Annual Report*, 1882, pp. 52-53).

The 1881 *Annual Report* noted that the Indian agent had "arrived at the location of the proposed Blood reservation" which was on the east side of the Belly River with "deep, rich and arable" land and wooded areas which would ensure "many years supply of timber" (*Annual Report*, 1881, p. xxiv). The *Annual Report* also noted that the Indian Affairs Department had established a supply farm at Pincher Creek, and its boundaries had been surveyed "in order to avoid future complications" because "the country is being rapidly located by settlers" (p. xxvi). The following year the *Annual Report* recorded that the Tsuu T'ina, after refusing to settle along with the Blackfoot at Blackfoot Crossing, had "taken a reserve six miles from Calgarry [sic]" (*Annual Report*, 1882, p. 179) and had prepared land for spring planting the following year.

By the mid 1880s the Treaty 7 people were domiciled on reserves in accordance with the Government of Canada's 1868 Indian policy and were involved in agricultural pursuits which the Department of Indian Affairs believed necessary to "produce satisfactory results: . . . the promotion of industry and good order" (*Annual Report*, 1868, p. 5), as well as to facilitate settlement of the North West Territories. By 1883 the success of the federal government program of encouraging settlers to the North-West Territories was evident: The country surrounding the reserves was "becoming thickly settled" (*Annual Report*, 1883, p. 81).

Formal Education and Day Schools

The 1880 *Annual Report* submitted to Parliament by the Indian Commissioner, Edgar Dewdney, had made reference to "a number of schools in the North-West Territories, carried on by the different religious denominations, assisted by Government grants" (p. 90). These grants, however, the Minister of the Interior, David Laird, had reported as early as 1873, were provided only to schools when it was shown that "the requiste [sic] average attendance there has been attained" (*Annual Report*, 1873, p. 17)—a requirement of an average attendance of 25 students. Meeting the criteria, however, did not guarantee funding from Indian Affairs. In a letter dated May 11, 1876, the Minister of the Interior responded to the request from Alexander Morris, requesting funding for the White Fish Lake School.[6] The Minister stated:

> The Governor General in Council has been pleased to direct that a grant of Three hundred Dollars ($300.00) per annum be given to the Indian Methodist School at White Fish Lake in the Saskatchewan district, the payment to commence from the 1st January last, provided there has been an average attendance of Twenty five scholars from that date. (PAM, MG12.B1.Box5/13)

The *Tabular Statement* in the 1883 *Annual Report* provided further detail regarding the federal government's policy of financial contributions to schools on Indian reserves:

> A salary of $300 per annum is paid to the teacher of each school wholly supported by the Government, and $12 per annum for each pupil over the number of 25 and up to the number of 42; the whole not to exceed $504 per annum. The teachers of such of these schools as receive aid from Missionary Societies receive from the Department, in addition to such aid, the sum of $12 per capita per annum on an average daily attendance, not to exceed 25 pupils, nor $300 per year. (*Annual Report*, 1883, p. 180)

Also in relation to financial support, the Government of Canada did not provide direct funding for the construction and establishment of schools located on reserves; rather, school construction and startup requirements for such items as books and desks relied upon the commitment of missionary organizations. The land for the school was allocated by the Minister responsible for Indian Affairs from the existing reserve land base, as identified in the letter from the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, L. Vankoughnet, to Edgar Dewdney. The Deputy wrote, "The Department allows any religious denomination that be carrying on mission work upon a Reserve a reasonable quantity of land for buildings" (Glenbow, Dewdney Papers, letter from Vankoughnet to Dewdney, Vol. V, pp. 1119-1120), which included land for schools and teacherages. In contrast the 1872 Dominion Lands Act specified that when land was surveyed for settlement, separate parcels of land were to be set aside for educational endowment in Manitoba and the North-West Territories. The Act stated:

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[6] On the present-day Goodfish First Nation reserve.

> Whereas it is expedient to make provision in aid of education in Manitoba and the North-West Territories, therefore, sections eleven and twenty-nine in each and every surveyed township throughout the extent of the Dominion lands, shall be and are hereby set apart as an endowment for purposes of education. (*Statues of Canada*, 35 Victoria, Chap. 23, Sec. 22)

However, land designated for school purposes on reserves was utilized from the existing land base allocated according to family size at the time of signing Treaty 7, and was not an additional allotment set aside for educational purposes as provided for settlers in the Dominion Lands Act. This policy resulted from a request by the Church of England Bishop of Rupertsland for assistance in purchasing land for their outreach work "contiguous" to reserves in the North-West Territories. The Bishop wrote on May 24, 1875, "What I wish to ask is how the Government will facilitate the obtaining . . . of land contiguous to a reserve" (PAM.MG.12.B2.Box2/4.151) for missionary work, including schools and farming instruction. The bishop suggested that $1.00 per acre would be acceptable, but he wanted to know what the terms would entail. His letter was forwarded by David Laird as Minister of the Interior to the Surveyor General of Canada, who wrote:

> The undersigned is of opinion that it would greatly strengthen the hands of the Government in administering Indian Affairs generally in the North West Territories if a liberal policy were adopted and encouragement given to those denominations which will build houses and undertake farming operations at points where such example may be brought under the notice of and followed by the Indians. (PAM.MG.12.B2.Box2/4.151)

Furthermore, the Surveyor General commented:

> In fact as yet so few of the Reserves have been laid out and so little has been done towards civilizing the Indians, that . . . it would be Better that the land [set aside for missions] should be given in the centre of such part of the Reserve, . . . which would involve their being a direct party to the establishing of such missions, and a surrender of the land requested therefore. (PAM.MG.12.B2.Box2/4.151)

The Minister of Indian Affairs, in a letter of August 3, 1875, concurred with the Surveyor General's recommendation and school sites reduced the total land mass available for the homes or economic endeavours of the First Nation people.

The Reverend George and John McDougall had established a mission including a school at Morley in 1875 prior to the signing of Treaty 7, and although the McDougall school continued in operation, no other educational initiatives had been established in the area following the treaty meeting at Blackfoot Crossing, despite the federal government's commitment to "pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians" (Treaty 7, 1966, p. 5) once First Nation people were settled on reserves. Furthermore, federal government policy adopted in 1868 declared that once First Nation people were in "more permanent habitations, many of the comforts and advantages of civilization combined with systematic and continuous education" (*Annual Report*, 1868, p. 5) would be provided to them.

In 1880 the Indian agent, Norman Macleod, believed that the construction of houses would not only create permanent homes for The People but would also facilitate children attending school on a regular basis, and he recommended to Ottawa that "as the Piegans [sic], Bloods and Stoneys are so far settled, it would be advisable to establish schools on their reservations. No Government assistance has been given as yet, in this direction" (*Annual Report*, 1880, p. 98). The Government of Canada failed to take the initiative to establish schools. Instead, the funding for schools was addressed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches. The churches undertook to support the construction of schools, the provision of school equipment, and the accommodation and living expenses of those sent to teach on the various Treaty 7 reserves. The activities of the clergy and teachers who resided on the reserves, however, were reported by the Indian agent and included in the Department's *Annual Reports*, as evidenced by Agent Macleod's report:

> The Rev. George McKay who is sent by the S.P.G. from which society he receives his salary, without any further assistance, has built a house and school on the Piegan [sic] Reservation; his average daily attendance in school is eighty boys and girls. He teaches them English, reading, writing and arithmetic. He reports the children to be intelligent and apt in learning, also particularly quick in learning to write. He has worked all summer with the Piegans [sic] and . . . organized several parties to go up the river to the mountains to raft down timber for their houses. (Annual Report, 1880, p. 98)

In a similar vein Agent Macleod reported that the Reverend Samuel Trivett, sponsored by the Church Missionary Society, had settled among the Bloods on the Belly River and had "built a house and a school room" where

> the daily average attendance at school is thirty-five children, who are learning English, alphabet, figures and writing. He finds the children intelligent and eager to learn. A supply of the first series of school books used by the Educational Department in Ontario in the common schools, and some slates would be a great assistance for those present if they could be procured. (*Annual Report*, 1880, p. 99)

Macleod also referred to the school at Morley[7] which "has been established with a teacher for some time, . . . supported by the Methodist Mission Society" (*Annual Report*, 1880, p. 99).

Although there is little mention of schools in the Treaty 7 area, in the 1881 *Annual Report* the agent reported that he visited both the Sunday school and the day school operated on the Stoney reserve by Mr. Sibbald, whose salary was paid by the Canadian Methodist Church (*Annual Report*, 1881, p. xxix). At the day school,

> there were twenty girls and twenty-three boys present. I heard them read, spell, &c., and examined their writing upon their slates; they were very quiet and attentive, they very much require [say] 100 small slates, six inches square or thereabouts, some slate pencils, a map of the world after the old style of Eastern and Western Hemispheres, pictures of animals, and first books, such as are used in Ontario. (*Annual Report*, 1881, p. xxix)

The Department of Indian Affairs did not contribute to the construction of these early schools within the Treaty 7 area or to the cost of providing teachers and school equipment for the schools, but they did, however, from time to time provide food or rations to Indian families. The Indian agents were aware of the positive effect of the distribution of food on school attendance. The average attendance at the Stoney school, the Indian agent reported, when the parents received regular rations was listed as 38 students; however, when rationing was curtailed, the students were absent from school because they accompanied their parents on hunting expeditions (*Annual Report*, 1881,

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[7] Referred to as *Morleyville* in early accounts; today known as *Morley*.

p. xxx). Distance from the school was also a factor in children's attending school, as were geographical factors such as the Bow River which flowed through the Stoney reserve:

> The river divides the [three Stoney bands], the children from Bear's Paw [sic] and Chinnequy's [sic] bands cannot attend during the summer months. Mr. McDougall said it was his intention to get a school-house built for these bands, and have a teacher; I told him of the assistance given by the Government of $100.00 for the purchase of glass, stone, &c.. after the erection of a suitable school-house. (*Annual Report*, 1881, p. xxx)

Thus, as is evident in the Indian agent's comments, if the Treaty 7 people or missionaries undertook to build a school, funding was available only after the completion of school construction, and the Treaty 7 Nations, devoid of financial resources, remained dependent upon church organizations for initial school construction. Furthermore, as in the Stoney situation, geographical barriers and the severity of the weather often affected school attendance. Barriers to school attendance and the difficult task of securing teachers were often alluded to in the *Annual Reports*.

In the *Annual Report* for 1882, the Indian Commissioner highlighted the "great" difficulty in "conducting schools with success among the Indians of the North-West Territories" (p. xix) because the reserves

> for the most part [were] remote from white settlement, and they are therefore not very desirable places of residence for teachers of white origin, and very few competent teachers of Indian descent are to be had. The result is that very often no teacher can be procured for months after a school house has been erected, and frequently the person who undertakes the duty is either incompetent or does not take sufficient interest in his school to make it a success. To ensure the latter the teacher must, besides being qualified as such, be possessed of much patience and have a sufficient knowledge of the native language of his pupils to be able to explain clearly to them what he is teaching. (p. xix)

Furthermore, the *Report* mentioned that "the indifference of the parents of the children as to whether they attend school or not, and frequently the want of clothing, are serious hindrances to full or regular attendance" (p. xix). In 1883 the Reverend Tims who worked on the Blackfoot reserve wrote in his diary, "Little girls come to school with only one thin cotton garment on" (Stocken, 1976, p. vi). The lack of warm clothing and adequate nourishment for their children provides an explanation for parental reluctance to send their children to school during the prairie wintertime.

The 1882 *Annual Report* recognized five schools in Manitoba and the North-West Territories, including the only two schools in Treaty 7—amidst the Stoneys and the Bloods—that had "indefatigable zeal," and "the ability of the teachers had been conducted with marked success" (p. xix). The *Tabular Statement* for the period ending June 30, 1883, recorded a total of 84 students registered at the Blood school where G. W. Bettes was the teacher, and 30 students received instruction from A. Sibbald on the Stoney reserve. The school on the Blood reserve underwent a number of closures during the early 1880s due to the lack of a teacher (see photograph 8-4). However, despite a scarcity of food, scant clothing, and considerable distance of the children's homes from the school site, a few children attended the day schools. For the year ending June 30, 1884, the school statistics appearing in Table 8.1 were recorded.

Table 8.1

1884 Treaty 7 School Attendance

Reserve	Teacher	Students	Total population
Blood	Rev. H. T. Bowrne	59	
Blood	G. W. Bettes	53	2,278
Stoney	Flora McDougall	43	621[8]

Church societies continued to operate schools on the Treaty 7 reserves without support from the federal government. At times the efforts of the various churches were officially chastised by the Indian agents, as evidenced when the school on the Stoney reserve was closed during the summertime or the complaint, though on a seemingly firmer educational basis, that the Peigan school operated during the winter of 1883 with a teacher who previously was a "teamster" in Battleford (*Annual Report*, 1884, p. 142).

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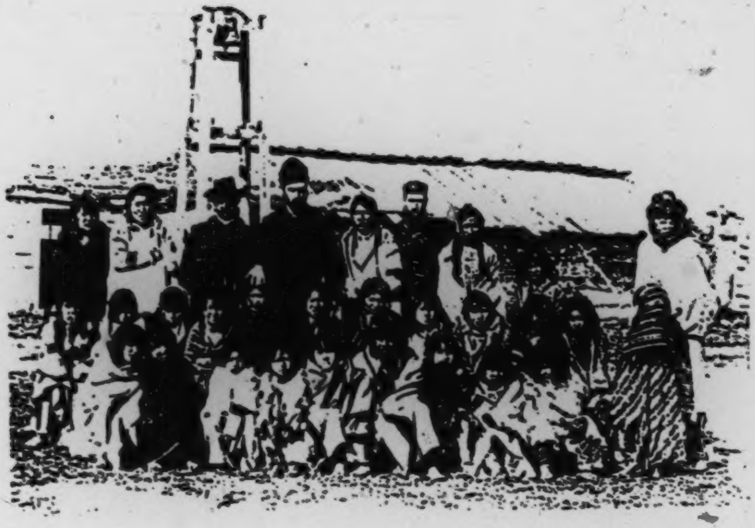
[8] School information and population compiled from the 1884 *Annual Report*.



Photograph 8-4. Blood Anglican Mission, 1885, Students and Reverends Trivett, Tims, & McKay (Courtesy Glenbow Museum)

School records for the Peigan reserve were not included in the 1884 *Annual Report*; whether the teacher's qualifications were the reason is not clear.

During the next two years religious entities undertook further educational initiatives on the Treaty 7 reserves. The Roman Catholic Church established a mission at Fort Macleod for the "purpose to conduct a day school," and on the North Blackfoot Reserve the Church of England constructed a home for the Reverend Tims, who planned "to open a day school" (*Annual Report*, 1884, p. 144). The school was in operation in 1884 when Bishop McLean "visited the north Blackfoot camp and inspected the school there. The children showed good progress" in academic subjects and "sang hymns very nicely" (*Annual Report*, 1885, p. 75). The various church representatives and the Indian Agents for Treaty 7 often praised the children's commitment to learning. Indian Agent, C. E. Denny wrote to Ottawa that "the young people growing up among these Indians, and in all the other tribes are bright and intelligent, . . . are incline[d] to learn" (*Annual Report*, 1883, p. 83); however, the agent raised two issues that plagued day school operations: "The field requires not only teachers, but the expenditure of money" (p. 83). No response was forthcoming from the federal government in the matter of funding for Treaty 7 day schools, and with the exception of the McDougall Orphanage on the Stoney reserve, the churches continued to be the sole financial supporters of the day schools. Regardless of its limited financial involvement, however, the Canadian government stated in the 1884 *Annual Report* that "the advancement in educational matters is not so rapid as it is desirable to see" and placed the blame on parents who "fail[ed] to insist on their [children's] attendance," but then in a self-congratulatory mode noted that in cases where the Department had "direct[ed] a small quantity of warm clothing to be provided for," students regularly attended school (p. 160).

Four years later the day school attendance showed gradual growth (*Annual Report*, 1888, pp. 300-305), as shown in Table 8.2.

The gradual increase in attendance at day schools and the growing involvement of the Treaty 7 people in farming and cattle raising augured well for the future. By 1886 an additional classroom was established by the Methodist Church on the south side of the Bow River on the Stoney reserve. The "school" was held in the home of Chief Chiniki, though the Indian agent wrote, "We hope, during the coming season to get out logs and

Table 8.2

1888 Treaty 7 School Attendance[9]

Reserve	Teacher	# Students	Population
Blackfoot	H. W. G. Stocken	56	
Blackfoot	S. J. Stocken	52	1,816
Blood	C. B. Fosbroke	149	2,162
Stoney	S. Youmans	37	
Stoney	E. R. Steinhaur	45	
Stoney (McDougall Orphanage)	J. A. Youmans	23	597
Peigan	Rev. J. A. Dupont	65	
Peigan	A. Hebert	59	934
Tsuu T'ina	J. DeBailinhard	9	
Tsuu T'ina	R. Inkster	14	339

build a good schoolhouse" (*Annual Report*, 1886, p. 135). The new "school" was well attended when the Indian agent visited; he commented that the school was a "very necessary move, as the Indians on the south side of the Bow River found it impossible to send their children to the north side without great risk during the greater portion of the year" (p. 135). Similarly, a school was under construction on the Tsuu T'ina reserve, and in the meantime a few children were "receiving instruction at the farming instructor's house" (p. liii). The following year it was noted that only "a few children attend as yet, but their progress has been very satisfactory" (*Annual Report*, 1887, p. lvi). A new teacher was reported to have "kept in operation" the school on the Blackfoot reserve, though "both schools on [the Blood] reserve suspended operation in the early part of the year, and have not since re-opened" (*Annual Report*, 1886, p. 137). It was reported that both the Church of England and the Methodist Church schools were "erecting new schoolhouses" which were expected to soon be in regular operation and thus receive Indian students "as scholars" (p. 137).

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[9] Compiled from the 1888 Annual Report.

Teacher availability continued to be an issue. The Indian agent reported that the Methodist missionary the Reverend John McLean, "owing to trouble with his school teacher, only had his school in work for three months" (*Annual Report*, 1886, p. 136) on the Blood reserve, and the Peigan school operated only sporadically. Both situations caused the Indian agent to comment that one "cannot hope to give the Indians much teaching either moral or intellectual" (p. 136). In 1887 the Indian agent for the Blood reserve recorded that the Methodist mission school "has been closed, as the teacher was dismissed by the society," and because the teacher "refused to go," the "building operations for a new school house were abandoned" (*Annual Report*, 1887, p. 98). When teachers were available, the schools reopened, students returned, and once again formal instruction was under way with "a very large attendance" (*Annual Report*, 1887, p. 98) as was noticed on the Blood reserve. The Indian agent on the Peigan reserve reported that

> two missionaries at present [are] working among the Peigans, one of the Missionaries belongs to the Church of England and the other to the Roman Catholic church; the latter has a very substantial and comfortable mission with a good school house attached. There are fifty-nine children on the roll, giving a daily average attendance of about twenty-nine. (p. 99)

Furthermore, the Indian agent commented that he had visited the Roman Catholic school on a number of occasions and that

> it was really surprising how well the little ones have progressed under the able tuition of Monsieur Hebert, the teacher. On one occasion in the winter I visited the school when one of the worst storms I ever experienced was raging, and I found twenty-five scholars present, paying marked attention to their teacher. After holding a short examination during which the children answered the question put to them, they sang a verse of the National Anthem. (p. 99)

The Indian agent for the Tsuu T'ina and Stoney nations wrote on September 27, 1887, that "the number of children now attending school is very satisfactory, and as the future of the Indians depends very much on the young generation, this cannot but effect great progress for the future" (*Annual Report*, 1887, p. 103). It was further noted that the school on the Tsuu T'ina reserve "has done very well," and the Indian agent expressed the hope that in "the coming year the number will double as the pupils, although as yet few in number, have improved very fast," and "the orphanage at Morley has been moved into the new building and . . . the children have made great progress during the year"

(p. 103). As evidenced in the *Annual Report* of 1887, there was an increase in both the actual number of day schools and a corresponding increase in student attendance in the North-West Territories in general and in Treaty 7 in particular (p. 194). Table 8.3 demonstrates the increase in Treaty 7 student enrolment and the academic areas studied by the students and indicates that only Saint Joseph's Industrial School and the McDougall Orphanage, referred to as a semi-industrial school, received funding from the federal government (p. 194).

A Changing Lifestyle

In a few short years The People had changed their lifestyle, diet, and occupation, and faced a great many hardships; yet their children attended formal educational facilities, learned academic subjects—reading, writing, spelling, history, arithmetic, geography, music, and drawing (*Annual Report*, 1887, p. 299). The Stoney people by 1885 relied upon themselves, "hunting furbearing animals and game," and also owned a "large herd of cattle, which is annually increasing in number" (*Annual Report*, 1885, p. xlviii). The Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs reported that "the Bloods did their own ploughing, using their own horses," and the Peigans "were looked upon as the best Indians in the treaty" (*Annual Report*, 1884, p. 89) because they used their own horses and ploughs to harvest their crops. Some Peigans, it was noted, "were very well off" (p. 89). Individual members of the Blackfoot Confederacy worked for farmers in the area and received "a small sum of money" (*Annual Report*, 1884, p. 88). Nevertheless, the new era was not without its human toll. Communities continued to be beset by frequent outbreaks of diseases, particularly debilitating among the old and the young, and the Treaty 7 population decreased annually (see Table 8.4). The People retained their language and culture, and the Sun Dance remained a central focus of their religious activities, regardless of pressure from the Indian Agents and clergy alike.

Financial Commitments to Day Schools

In 1884 Indian Affairs' national expenditure was $1,082,713.87, an amount which covered department salaries, administration, and all costs related to services, including education. Departmental funds were voted on by Parliament on an annual basis, including the cost for basic schooling. Churches, however, supplemented government funds and

Table 8.3

1887 Treaty 7 Enrolment

Reserve	Teacher	# of pupils	Av. daily attendance	# reading & spelling	# writing	# learning history	# learning arithmetic	# learning grammar	# learning music & singing	# learning geography	# learning drawing
Blackfoot	H. W. G. Stocken	40	13	20	9	–	4	2	40	4	40
Blood	C. Fosbourne	281	81	281	33	–	48	–	–	–	–
Stoney											
Morley N	S. Youmans	56	27	56	18	–	41	6	–	7	–
Morley S	E. R. Steinhauer	55	29	39	45	–	18	–	54	–	54
McDougall Orphanage	J. A. Youmans	19	19	19	19	–	14	5	–	5	–
Peigan	A. Herbert	50	25	40	48	–	50	–	–	–	–
Tsuu T'ina	J. de Bailin	17	8	9	9	–	10	–	6	–	6
St. Joseph's Industrial School (not all from Treaty 7)	Father Claude	26	26	22	20	–	14	–	–	–	–
Total		544	228	486	201	–	199	13	100	16	100

played a major role in establishing and funding First Nation schools. As well, the department had access to other funds, because besides its annual budget, the Department of Indian Affairs held monies "in trust" for First Nations. In 1884, $3,271,910.02 was held in trust accounts on behalf of First Nations (primarily Ontario First Nations). These monies were "accrued from annuities secured to the Indians under Treaty, as well as from sales of land, surrendered by them to be sold" (*Annual Report*, 1884, p. lxvi). The trust monies, though belonging to First Nations, could, until 1928, be spent by the Government of Canada at its discretion. The authority to allow First Nation trust funds to be expended at will by the Department of Indian Affairs was conferred by Parliament with the passage of the 1876 Indian Act, which stated that the "Governor in Council may, subject to the provisions of this Act, direct how, and in what manner, and by whom the monies" may be spent "for the benefit of Indians" (Sec. 59). Thus the federal government had the authority to and did utilize Indian trust funds for the construction of "school houses, the repair or improvement of the old buildings, and the supplying of modern school furniture, books and materials for the better education of their children" (*Annual Report*, 1884, p. xii). The Government of Canada directed individual First Nation trust funds to educational expenditures, an action the First Nation had no authority to approve or prevent because the Canadian government controlled the trust funds; however, the Prime Minister believed that by the government's committing the trust funds to education, it

Table 8.4

Treaty 7 Population*

Year	**Population**
1880	7,549
1884	6,673
1887	6,033
1890	5,285
1892	4,753
1894	4,428
1901	3,633
1917	3,165

*(compiled from the *Annual Reports*)

was "proof of increased interest in the important matter of education" (p. xii) by First Nations in Ontario. The First Nations within Treaty 7, however, were without any accumulation of trust funds and thus unable to display a similar "commitment" to education. Despite a declining population and the federal government belief that the Treaty 7 people lacked a commitment to education, Treaty 7 student enrolment continued to rise (see Table 8.5).

An Alternative Approach to Day Schools

The Government of Canada, for the most part, relied upon First Nations trust monies and religious organizations' contributions to Indian education, yet still sought a more "effective" way of funding the provision of education for First Nation children (*Annual Report*, 1884, p. lxvi). By 1887 it preferred an alternative to "the plan of educating Indian children through the agency of day schools" for the latter did not offer "promise, and that some better means should be devised" for delivering education for First Nation students (*Annual Report*, 1887, p. 194). The government paid little attention to the numerous requests by the churches for financial assistance beyond the $300 allotted to day schools—an amount dependent upon the school maintaining an average attendance of 25 students. Financial requests and arguments that increased funding for day schools would improve the school facilities, the level of teacher salaries, and provide much-needed school equipment, gained little support within the federal government. The General Synod of the Church of England requested funding towards its school operations and wrote:

> It is felt that it is not reasonable to ask those who are helping in this work, even if they were able to answer the demand, which they are not, to continue their work, unless the Government increases the grant made by at least 50%, which will not do more than pay their actual outlay. This should help to make the schools more efficient and prevent the too frequent recurrence of deficiencies. We very earnestly hope that the Department will see the reasonableness of this request and encourage those who are giving so much time, thought, and labour to this work by granting it. (cited in Daniels, 1973, p. 151)

The churches continued to press for increased financial commitment for day schools; however, the federal government, committed to an alternative educational delivery system, paid little heed to the requests. The government's preferred approach

Table 8.5

1894 Treaty 7 Enrolment

		Religious					Level						
School	Teacher	affiliation	Grant	Boys	Girls	Total	1	2	3	4	5	6	Remarks
Blackfoot													
Old Sun Boarding	Rev. J. W. Tims	C of E }	$2160	25	8	33	20	9	3	1	-	-	30 pupils @ $72 each per annum
Day	Rev. J. W. Tims	C of E }		15	13	28	28	-	-	-	-	-	$12 per annum for day students
Eagle Rib	C. L. Mills	C of E	$300	24	13	37	10	25	2	-	-	-	
Crowfoot	V. Robbe	RC	$300	24	9	33	23	6	4	-	-	-	
Blood													
Bull Shields	H. G. Henson	RC	$300	19	13	32	5	31	1	-	-	-	
Running Wolf	A. Saint George	RC	$300	15	11	26	9	7	8	1	-	-	
Bulls Horn	A. F. H. Mills	C of E	$300	18	6	24	10	19	2	3	-	-	
Red Crow	W. R. Haynes	C of E	$300	14	9	23	23	-	-	-	-	-	
Blood Boarding	F. Swainson	C of E	$1400	16	18	34	19	28	5	1	-	-	20 pupils @ $72 each per annum
Stoney													

(table continues)

School	Teacher	Religious affiliation	Grant	Boys	Girls	Total	Level 1	2	3	4	5	6	Remarks
Morley #1	G. E. Garvin	Meth.	$300	24	22	46	10	43	3	-	-	-	
Morley #2	E. R. Steinhauer	Meth.	$300	23	17	40	30	6	2	2	-	-	
McDougall Orphanage	J. W. Butler	Meth	$1400	16	18	34	16	0	14	-	-	-	
Peigan													
Boarding													
1.	J. Hinchcliff	C of E	$300	18	7	25	13	25	-	-	-	-	
2.	J. Hinchcliff	C of E	$864	16	11	27	21	5	1	-	-	-	12 pupils @ $72 each per annum
3.	Rev. D. Foisy	RC	$300	21	10	31	10	18	8	5	-	-	
Tsuu T'ina													
#1 Day	P. Estoker	C of E	$300	8	4	12	8	6	3	3	-	-	
#2 Boarding	Rev. H. W. G. Stocken	C of E	$300	10	—	10	1	5	4	-	-	-	

necessitated the separation of Indian children from their parents and the students placed in a residential school setting, where they received training in agrarian and domestic life skills. As early as 1882, Indian Agent, C. E. Denny had written to the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs stating:

> I think that the only way to really teach the Indian children is to separate them altogether from their parents, as these will never force the children to attend school if they wish to shirk, and, therefore, during the summer they only go now and then and the rest of the time run wild. If one or two large establishments were started, say on the railroad a hundred miles from any reserve, where children from all the tribes would be taught, not only book learning but also farming, their parents being allowed to visit them occasionally, and to see themselves the progress made, more good would be done in such a school as this in one year than can be done on the reserves in five. (*Annual Report*, 1882, p. 176)

The Prime Minister, in a similar mind frame, wrote two years later:

> The progress of Indian children at day schools however efficiently conducted such institutions may be, is very greatly hampered and injuriously affected by the associations of their home life, and by the frequency of their absence, and the indifference of their parents to the regular attendance of their children at such schools. (*Annual Report*, 1884, p. xiii)

The alternative to day schools was industrial school and boarding schools. First Nation children, the government stated, would be "educated, instructed in industries, fed and clothed;" and furthermore, family ties between the children and their parents would be "severed during the school term," which the government considered "obviously preferable since it would prevent any parental obstructions to education" (*Annual Report*, 1884, p. xiii). These ideas emanated from Nicholas Davin's *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds,* commissioned by the federal government in 1879. The Conservative government agreed to provide financial assistance to the religious denominations which undertook to operate residential industrial schools. Residential schooling would be the thrust of Indian Affairs educational policy for First Nation children until the middle of the 20th century. The first industrial school for the Treaty 7 area was announced in the 1883 *Annual Report*, as follows:

> An Industrial School will be established, under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church, within the territory covered by Treaty No. 7. A site for the same has been selected at High River, which is considered a very eligible location, as it is sufficiently far from any Reserve to prevent the Indian parents from resorting

> too frequently to the school, which would tend to interrupt the children in their studies. The work of construction of the building for the school has already been contracted for, and it is proposed to place the institution under the direction of the Rev. Father Lacombe who has been long and favorably known in the territories, it is hoped the school will be brought into operation in the ensuing year. (p. lvi)

The following year the *Annual Report* recorded that although the original purpose of the industrial schools was for the "exclusive education of Indian boys," Members of Parliament should debate whether additional funding should be voted for refurbishing the buildings to accommodate female students, because "industrial training of Indian girls, the same being, in my opinion, of as much importance as a factor in the civilization and advancement of the Indian race, as the education of the male portion of the community" (*Annual Report*, 1884, p. xi).

In October 1884 Saint Joseph's School, or High River Industrial School as it was sometimes referred to, opened and initially accepted only male students. The school was not located on reserve and violated Treaty 7 which stated that teachers would "instruct the children of said Indians as to her Government of Canada may seem advisable, when said Indians are settled on their reserve" (Morris, 1991, p. 371). The school provided agricultural and trades training during its first year of operation and recorded an average attendance of fewer than 23 students. By July 1885 Father Lacombe, the principal, wrote that "not withstanding our earnest and continuous efforts, we have not succeeded in retaining the boys at our school, and I may say they have nearly all deserted" (*Annual Report,* 1885, p. 76). He commented further that "the Department must well understand, that amongst the four tribes of Blackfeet [sic], Bloods, Piegans [sic] and Sarcee, not one Indian is willing to part with his young children or allow them to remain here for any length of time" (p. 77). The priest considered it

> impossible to get children of an eligible age if the Department does not employ other means than merely persuading parents and guardians to send their children to this school. They seem determined not to give up their younger children, unless compelled to do so" (p. 77)

Pressure exerted on parents by Indian agents resulted in children being brought to Saint Joseph's; however, "when the insurrection on the North Saskatchewan broke out, lest a war party of Crees might suddenly appear and take the children prisoners" (p. 74), parents removed their children from the industrial school and took them home to the reserve. Despite the end of the hostilities and subsequent visits to the Treaty 7 reserves by Indian Affairs officials from Ottawa, priests, and Indian agents, all of whom exerted pressure on parents to send their children to the industrial school, the efforts met with little success, and only a few Treaty 7 students were enrolled at the industrial school (p. 75). The following year when a measles epidemic occurred at the school, parents, "as soon as they heard of it" (*Annual Report*, 1886, p. 143), removed their children from Saint Joseph's.

In 1885, when Father Claude became Principal of Saint Joseph's, only three Blackfoot students attended the school, and he subsequently lamented that "it was very difficult to induce the Blackfeet [sic], Bloods or Piegans [sic] to send their children to the institution, and impossible to retain them when they were sent" (*Annual Report*, 1886, p. liv). Furthermore, he stated that when his fellow priests

> attempted several times, I should say every day, to induce the Blackfeet [sic] to send their children to the school, . . . all our exertions have scarcely been of any use, as the few children we could obtain one day, were driven away the next, [by their relatives] when well cleaned and clothed. (p. 142)

For those students who did stay at the industrial school for any length of time, "their progress in reading, writing and especially in mental arithmetic" was considered " very rapid," despite a school day which consisted of "five hours of class," and for the remainder of the day students were "employed in manual work" (p. 142). Female students were later accepted at Saint Joseph's, and they, like their male counterparts, participated in manual work, the boys learning carpentry and the girls, who received instruction from the religious sisters, were taught "household work, sewing and knitting." Father Claude wrote that some of the girls' "needle work is skillfully [sic] executed enough to find a place in our reception room" (pp. 142-143). For those enrolled at Saint Joseph's or any other industrial school, the school terms varied very little. The students worked "half a day school and half a day manual labor" (p. 143), and in the summertime students worked outside for a longer period of time.

The unwillingness of Treaty 7 parents to support industrial schools did not abate. In 1886 the *Annual Report* stated that "the Blackfeet still object to their children being sent to the Industrial Institution provided for them at High River" (*Annual Report*, 1887, p. xiv), and the student list revealed that only two of the pupils out of an enrolment of 29 students were from Treaty 7 Nations. The student body besides the two Blackfoot children was comprised of Cree, Métis, and White students (p. lviii). The following incident was a common occurrence at Saint Joseph's. The Indian agent transported "eight young Blackfeet [sic] children" (pp. 123-124) to the school, and the following day some of the same students left the institution. Despite such occurrences, the school continued to endeavour to recruit Treaty 7 children for the school. The principal requested the support of a fellow priest, Father Legal, who worked on the Blood and Peigan reserves, to try to convince parents to send their children to Saint Joseph's. The *Annual Report* noted that as a result of the Priest's intervention and with the "kindly help in this work by Major Cotton of the Mounted Police, who furnished the team and accessaries [sic] for the journey" (p. 124), three children were brought to the school. The principal was less successful in securing students when he asked the Indian agents for assistance. The Indian agent from the Blood reserve responded that he "could not find any boys" (p. 125), and the Indian agent from the Tsuu T'ina and Stoney Agency did not reply to the letter.

As a result of the lack of response to their efforts to enrol Treaty 7 students, the principal of Saint Joseph's wrote:

> I positively say that the Blackfeet [sic] are unwilling to give us their children. For they were not only repeatedly invited to do so, but they have often passed by the school, and had more than one opportunity to see how our pupils were treated, and how they appear contented at school. (*Annual Report*, 1887, p. 125)

He went on further to state that the reason, he believed, that Indian parents did not send their children to his school was that they did not want their children "to resemble the white people" (p. 125). Formal education which separated parents from their children and attempted to assimilate their children into the surrounding White society was unacceptable to Treaty 7 parents who consistently resisted any efforts to this effect (see photograph 8-5).

The objections of the parents, however, had little effect on government policy as it continued with its commitment to the residential school concept. For the most part, the federal government was also determined to recover its expenses or at least outlay as little as possible for the industrial schools, as it had for day schools. The principal of Saint Joseph's complained of the lack of financial commitment by the federal government to

Photograph 8-5. Blackfoot Students & Reverends Tims & Haynes, ca. 1890.
(Courtesy Glenbow Museum)

Indian education. He wrote to the Department of Indian Affairs that he objected to complaints that his school did not pay its way, for he believed that "it is not for our schools to re-pay for all the expenses made by the Indian Department" but rather the schools should "profit the people" (*Annual Report*, 1887, pp. 125-126). The principal then provided a description of the school activities which he believed benefited the students:

> We have at present at school 19 boys and 10 girls. Out of 19 boys, 7 are taught farm work, 3 carpentering, all the others being under 9 years of age are unfit for heavy out door work. The boys who learn trades are alternatively half a day at work and half a day at school. The others have regular hours of fatigue duty, two in the morning, and two in the afternoon in summer time; they have a little less during the winter, as there is less domestic work to keep them busy. To these youngest ones pertained the weeding of the garden and the housework on their side of the school and I must say, that this summer none denied our watchword, "No idleness here" as all work was exclusively done by the pupils. (p. 126)

Certainly, school philosophy and "watchword"—"no idleness here"—was supported in similar declarations in the *Annual Reports*. Such a statement applied equally to industrial and boarding schools, and to male and female students. The girls followed the same rigid schedule as the boys. The principal of Saint Joseph's reported that "excepting the two children of 4 and 5 years of age, they all knit and repair their own clothing, half of them are able to help the seamstress in making new clothing, suits, dresses" (p. 126). Furthermore, he stated:

> The trade instruction is the main objective of our school, the intellectual training is not neglected. The younger pupils are in class five hours daily, those who learn trades two and a half hours a day, beside special classes I may give them in leisure hours. Their progress in school is good. Half of them are out of the second metropolitan reader, able to explain any problem in the four elementary rules of arithmetic, to make a dictation good enough on the lessons of their book, recite fairly well their catechism, and their writing is good" [and that the students spoke English reasonably well]. (pp. 127-128)

The school discipline was stated to be a "military" system and "strictly carried out, no breach of the regulations remaining unpunished, but I must say to the honor of our pupils that all with few exceptions, observe perfectly the daily routine. Good order prevails" (p. 128). By 1887 the McDougall Orphanage on the Stoney reserve was referred to as semi-industrial, with an enrolment of 18 "inmates" (p. lviii).

Federal Expenditures on First Nation Education

By 1890 Indian Affairs expended a total of $18,684.30 on education in the Treaty 7 area for both the day and industrial schools (*Annual Report*, 1890, p. 21). The funding was allocated to the Indian agencies for schools within their area, as described in Table 8.6.

Based on student enrolment in the two types of schools and the corresponding unit cost of $13.77 for day schools and $242.75 for industrial schools, the federal policy and commitment to industrial schools outweighed its desire to curtail financial costs and was also in contradiction of the parental preference for day schools. By 1892 the government policy towards day schools was clear:

> As regards the day schools on Indian reserves, as has been repeatedly said, the circumstances incidental to their being established on reserves of themselves make them a very imperfect means of education; and the salaries which the Department finds itself able to offer are totally inadequate to induce well qualified and certificated teachers to undergo the hardships and deprivations attendant upon filling such positions on Indian reserves. It is therefore, only in cases where the amount paid by the Department is supplemented by a grant from the religious denomination under whose auspices the schools is conducted, that a properly certified teacher's services can be obtained. (*Annual Report*, 1892, p. xiv)

During the next decade the Treaty 7 day schools gradually closed, and by 1906 all day schools had ceased operation. Lack of funds for teachers' salaries, inappropriate buildings, pressure exerted by Indian agents on parents to send their children to boarding and industrial schools, the promise of construction of new school facilities, and the desire of Indian parents to have their children educated in newly constructed schools all played a role in the closure of day schools (see photographs 8-6 & 8-7). Also, as recognized by Indian Affairs, students had to travel significant distances in all types of weather (see photographs 8-8 & 8-9), and "partly owing to the fact that the Indian settlements are so scattered and the distances to the [day] schools in consequence so great," parents acquiesced, and their children attended boarding and industrial schools (*Annual Report*, 1891, p. 62). J. Ansdell Macrae, the inspector of Protestant Indian schools, wrote that the new schools had the books, materials, and furniture supplied by the Department, and the buildings also

Table 8.6

1890 Federal Funding for Treaty 7 Schools[10]

Day schools (528 students)		Industrial schools (47 students)	
Blackfoot Agency	$1,214.49	St. Joseph's	$11,409.61
Blood Agency	$2,454.37		
Peigan Agency	$1,271.77		
Sarcee Agency (Tsuu T'ina and Stoney reserves)	$2,334.06		
Day school total	$7,274.69	Industrial school total	$11,409.61

> exhibit every mark of advancement and improvement. The crowded, dingy, and too often dirty huts which in earlier days were all that could be built, are fast disappearing, and in their place, net, clean, well-aired, well-appointed-though inexpensively-buildings are being erected, and the school house is becoming, as it should be, one of the leading features of the reserve. (p. 66; see photograph 8-7)

From Industrial to Residential Schools

In 1896 a second industrial school in the Treaty 7 area opened, located in Calgary; it was classified as a non-denominational school and was funded solely by the Department of Indian Affairs (see photograph 8-10). Like Saint Joseph's it was located off reserve and did not fulfil the commitment agreed to in Treaty 7. As the system of residential schools for Indian students spread, the inspector of Protestant Indian schools wrote, with a premonition for the next century, that the "enlightened policy of education which has been pursued" by the Department would have many "educational effects . . . hard to portray" (*Annual Report*, 1891, p. 67). Three years later the Department of Indian Affairs hired Miss E. Bolton to visit "our industrial institutions in Manitoba and the

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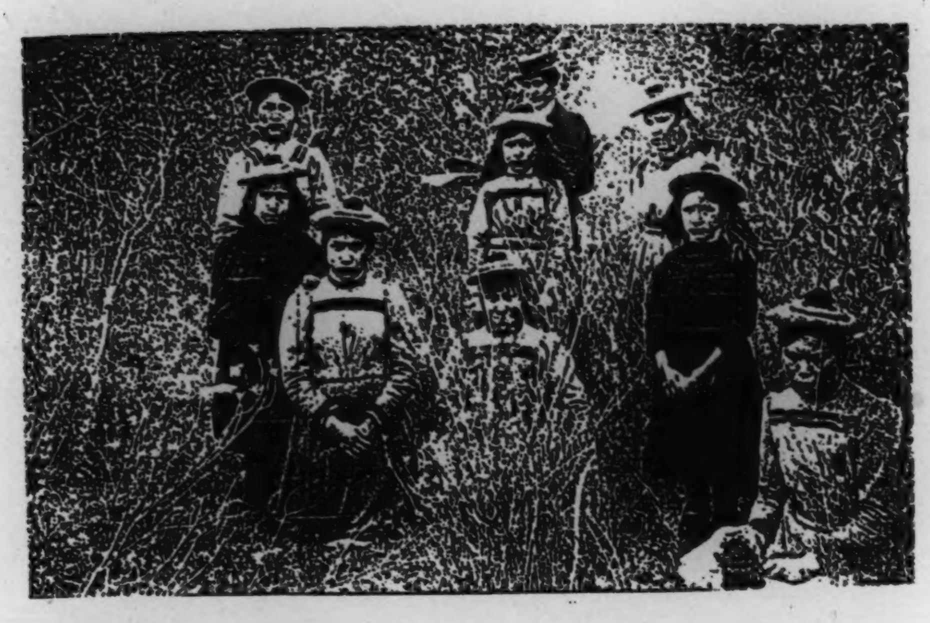
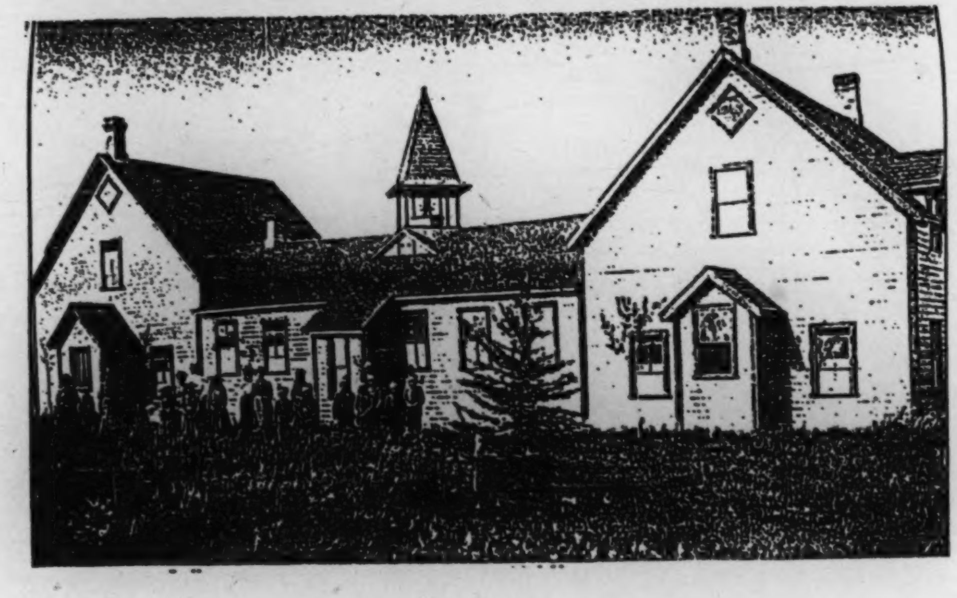
[10] Compiled from the 1890 Annual Report.





Photograph 8-6. Tsuu T'ina Students, 1902.

Photograph 8-7. Tsuu T'ina boarding school, 1902.

(DIA Annual Report, 1902, pp. 128, 360)

Photograph 8-8. Blackfoot travel, ca. 1890.
Photograph 8-9. Tsuu T'ina camp, ca. 1890.
(Courtesy Glenbow Museum)

Photograph 8-10. Calgary Industrial School Students, 1907, staff & students.

(Courtesy Glenbow Museum)

North-West Territories as are readily accessible from the main line of the railway," and her report was considered "valuable testimony to the character of the work already done by the department" (*Annual Report*, 1894, p. xxii). She wrote:

> I was amazed and delighted at the educational advance made in your schools. Certainly, from a scientific standpoint, your schools will be on a very solid basis. There is no doubt in the mind of educators generally that there is no true education given which does not combine technical and intellectual training, and your half-day system seems to me to be the height of perfection. (p. xxii)

Regardless of Miss Bolton's "testimony," the commitment to industrial schools gradually abated; and they too, like day schools, were phased out as boarding schools became the primary vehicle for the delivery of education services within Treaty 7 as the enrolment for 1902-1904 indicated (see Table 8.7).

Frank Oliver, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in the Liberal government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, seems to have been one of the few who questioned the move away from day schools and, despite his position, seems to have been unable to influence the government preference for boarding schools. He wrote in 1905:

> My belief is that the attempt to elevate the Indian by separating the child from his parents and educating him as a white man has turned out to be a deplorable failure. . . . A good day school on the reserve is a better means of improving the condition of the Indians than the industrial or even the boarding schools. (As cited in Coates, 1986, p. 136)

The following year the *Annual Report* (1906) for Indian Affairs clearly supported boarding schools, not only as a means of overcoming "the great difficulty" associated with maintaining day schools, but also as a means of "increasing contact with civilization . . . [and] an appreciation of a certain standard of instruction" (p. xxxiii). At the same time, the *Annual Report* noted that "great caution has to be observed to avoid the danger of unfitting the pupils for the surroundings to which their destiny confines them" (p. xxxiii). Thus boarding schools were vehicles by which First Nation students were trained for domestic and farming lifestyles on reserves. Education was pursued not as an opportunity to learn, but to facilitate a specific role in society. The inspector for schools echoed the "caution" espoused in the *Annual Report* in his report of his observations of educational activities at the Church of England boarding school on the Blood reserve:

Table 8.7

1902-1904 Treaty 7 School Enrolment[11]

Reserve	Provided for 1902-03	Provided for 1903-04	On attendance roll 1902-03	On attendance roll 1903-04
Sarcee [Tsuu T'ina]	15	15	14	17
Blackfoot				
Old Sun [C of E]	50	50	42	40
Crowfoot [RC]	25	25	17	24
Blood				
Church of England	50	50	49	47
Roman Catholic	25	25	28	33
Peigan				
Church of England	30	30	26	22
Roman Catholic	20	20	21	20
Stoney	Not available			
Total Treaty 7	215	215	197	203
Total Canada	1,270	1,308	1,274	1,255
Industrial schools				
Calgary	50	50	41	27
St. Joseph's	120	120	82	81
Total Treaty 7	170	170	123	108
Total Canada	1,140	1,155	977	962

> The pupils of standard V recited the whole of that beautiful poem, 'The Prairies,' author, William Cullen Bryant. I am impressed with the idea that it is repugnant to a majority of the Indian youth to be compelled to commit a long poem to memory. Indian children have a comparative short school life and to my mind, these short periods should be used to lay a foundation of knowledge that is most likely to be of practical benefit when they return to their reserves, to be either farmers or farmers' wives, and not to burden their minds with long poems that will in no way assist them to provide bread and butter for themselves. (p. 425)

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[11] Compiled from the 1902-1904 Annual Report.

Although the Canadian government steadfastly preferred residential school settings for Indian students, their financial commitment to these schools was limited. A letter written in 1905, on behalf of the Methodist Missionary Society, identified both Canada's lack of financial commitment to the residential schools and the treaty responsibility to provide education:

> In regards to the boarding schools, we would respectfully call the attention of the Superintend General to the impossibility of maintaining them on the present per capita basis, and as these schools, at least those within treaty limits, are established in furtherance of the treaty obligations of the Government, there does not seem to be any sufficient reason why the churches should meet the deficit out of moneys [sic] contributed for purely religious purposes. (as cited in Daniels, 1973, p. 162)

When the school inspector visited the boarding school on the Blackfoot Reserve that was operated by the Roman Catholic church, he praised the work of the teacher and commented that the students in the "advanced classes not only read in an audible tone, but emphasized and noted the punctuation as well"; however, he also noted that "there are nine home-made desks in use, which are too few for the number of the pupils enrolled, and, moreover, they are not well adapted for use in a modern classroom (*Annual Report*, 1906, p. 435). The role of the students in maintaining the very existence of the school was evident in the inspector's further comments. The inspector wrote that there was a garden connected to the boarding school "in which there were about two acres under pototoes [sic] and three-quarters of an acre under vegetables of one sort or another" (see photographs 8-11 & 8-12) The boys were responsible for the "gardening, care for the four cows and help to put up a sufficient quantity of hay for the cows, four head of young cattle and for the four horses which are kept for work about the institution"; and the girls were "taught in all branches of cooking, sewing, darning and mending clothes" (p. 435). There seems to be have been little difference in the operation of industrial or boarding schools, other than the latter were usually located on reserve—though with limited access by parents. The residential schools continued to provide the "recruits" for the industrial schools located in Calgary and High River until the latter were phased out. The Calgary Industrial School closed in 1907; the following year the McDougall Orphanage, which was classified as a semi-industrial school, closed (see photograph 8-13); and in 1924 Saint Joseph's Industrial School ceased operation. By 1917 the Department of Indian

Photograph 8-11. Peigan students picking potatoes, ca. 1900.

Photograph 8.12. Stoney Working Students, 1901.

(Courtesy Glenbow Museum)

Photograph 8-13. Stoney students at McDougall Orphanage, 1901.

(Courtesy Glenbow Museum)

Affairs articulated the aim of education for First Nation students as "to fit the young Indians to become self-reliant and self-supporting members" (*Annual Report*, 1917, p. 14) of the reserve community. In the western provinces, in order to assist students establish a livelihood on the reserve, the Department provided

> a system of assistance to ex-pupils of boarding and industrial schools. Upon leaving school, . . . a grant of cattle or horses, implements, tools, and building material. In some cases further assistance is given in the form of a loan of money, and the ex-pupils are as a rule very prompt in the fulfilment of the obligations thus incurred [once the students were settled on the reserve] (p. 14).

As shown in Table 8.8, half of the adult population was involved in agricultural and "industrial" occupations, and less than 30% of the population spoke or wrote the English language. The Indian Affairs *Annual Report*, however, noted that almost all of the adult males wore western clothing, which was described "as modern" attire.

By 1918 the Department of Indian Affairs' claimed that education was not only preparing students for an agrarian lifestyle on the reserve, but also giving "the rising generation of Indians such training as will make them loyal citizens of Canada" (*Annual Report*, 1918, p. 23). Records indicate that the Treaty 7 donations to the war effort were concrete examples of their loyalty. In the *Annual Report* for 1918, their financial contributions to Patriotic and Other War Funds, including the Red Cross, amounted to $5,162.20 (pp. 17-18). However, despite the loyal contributions of Treaty 7 members and other First Nations across the country to the war effort, the Department of Indian Affairs' national expenditure on First Nation education was reduced from $2,195,319.20 in 1914 to $1,786,798.21 by 1918; almost half a million dollars annually had been removed from First Nation education during the war years and re-allocated within Canada's wartime economy (*Annual Report*, 1919, p. 53).

The Bureaucracy of First Nation Education

From time to time the Indian Act was amended, as was the organization of the Department of Indian Affairs. In 1894 a School Branch within the Department of Indian Affairs was created, and the same year compulsory education came into effect, which necessitated schooling in residential schools due to the remoteness and distance of students' homes from the school. In 1909 the first Superintendent of Indian Education,

Table 8.8

1916 Treaty Educational, Occupational, and Population Statistics

Reserve	# who speak English	# who write English	# of able-bodied male adults	Industrial population	# engaged in farming	# engaged in hunting, trapping, fishing	# engaged in stock raising	# engaged in other industrial occupation	# who wear modern clothing	Total population 1917
Blackfoot	163	140	175	200	78	10	120	40	640	726
Blood	300	250	325	360	61	3	400	25	1,050	1,161
Peigan	109	86	100	--	70	--	89	--	432	415
Stoney	85	62	125	125	--	125	50	--	654	670
Tsuu T'ina	29	24	38	38	33	2	18	5	46	193
Total										3,165

Total population figures compiled from the 1917 *Annual Report.*

Duncan Campbell Scott, was appointed. In 1923, industrial and boarding schools were combined in one administrative category as residential schools. By the 1920s day schools began to reappear on the Treaty 7 reserves. In 1926 day schools were in operation on the Stoney and Tsuu T'ina reserves, and by 1930 the Old Sun's Day School opened on the Blackfoot reserve. Although day schools received funding on a more consistent basis from the Department of Indian Affairs than did their earlier predecessors, the schools were to be operated and supported financially by religious organizations. Education, whether provided at day or residential schools, was rarely at the level established for Canadian children who received their education through provincial systems administered by local school jurisdictions. The authors of the 1921 Canada Census Study noted, "The Indians are only very slightly connected with the education efforts of the different provinces, the responsibility for their education lying with the Dominion and private denominational institutions" (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1926, p. 38). The Bureau's *Study* believed that the inclusion of literacy statistics for the First Nation population in Canadian statistics as a whole was "most misleading" (p. 38), particularly when Canada's educational attainments were compared to other countries. The *Comparative Data on Illiteracy of Population Over 10 Years in Canada, United States, Australia and New Zealand* table revealed that 4.53% of the total Canadian population was unable to read or write, compared to 1.65% of the Australian population and 1.01% of the New Zealand population, though neither of these two countries included the Aboriginal population in their national educational statistics (p. 31). In a revealing comment on the state of Indian education in Canada, the Bureau wrote,

> Now, it is very clear the illiteracy of the Indians aught [sic] to be considered as a thing apart from that of the rest of the population, . . . [for] taking the illiteracy of the population excluding Indians . . . [would result in] a more accurate description of the true situation. (p. 38)

Certainly, the 1921 statistics record a very different picture of the educational attainment levels and types of school experience by First Nation people and the Canadian population in general. In 1921 Canada's population was 8,788,483, of whom only 13,064 non-Aboriginal students attended boarding school, compared to 100% of Treaty 7 students who attended boarding school in 1920 (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1926, Vol. II, p. 77). Also in 1921, the census shows that 5,943 non-Aboriginal students had completed high school and were enrolled in 85 universities or classical colleges, whereas the majority of Treaty 7 students were enrolled in the first three levels of school, and no student was recorded as having finished high school (p. 77).

The more detailed reports of *Illiteracy and School Attendance in Canada* portray a dismal picture of First Nation education in Canada in general and in Alberta in particular. The *Per cent illiterate of the population ten years of age and over in the nine provinces of Canada* was 5.01% when First Nation people were included and 4.49% when they were excluded; however, when the statistics were compiled on a provincial basis, the difference was more significant, as indicated in Table 8.9. The total population for Alberta in 1921 was 310,539, of whom 88.95% over five years of age attended school (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1926, Vol. II, p. xix). School attendance rates were different for rural and urban communities. As revealed in the 7 to 14 age group, 88.39% of rural children attended school compared to 95.12% of urban children. First Nation children were not included in this comparison (p. 658). The census did note, however, the discrepancy between First Nation children over the age of 11 years and not attending

Table 8.9

Canadian Illiteracy Rates[12]

Province	First Nations included	First Nations excluded
PEI	3.07	3.02
Nova Scotia	5.11	5.01
New Brunswick	7.61	7.50
Quebec	6.20	6.04
Ontario	2.96	2.70
Manitoba	7.09	6.13
Saskatchewan	5.92	5.05
Alberta	**5.18**	**3.73**
BC	6.21	3.83

(Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1926, Table 25, p. 38) school and other Canadian children in the same category. When First Nation children were included in the 1921 statistics for Alberta, 30.9% of children over 11 years of age were not attending school; however, if they were removed and not factored into the compilation, then those children over 11 years of age not attending school dropped to 5.9% (p. 86). The 1921 census figures are also relevant to the type of schooling that Treaty 7 students received, for at the time of the census, Treaty 7 students attended residential schools which provided classroom instruction for one half of the day, and for the remainder of the day students worked in domestic duties and farming activities both within the school grounds and within the nearby villages and towns when employment could be secured. Thus First Nation students enrolled in residential schools were "employed" half time. The 1921 census referred to child employment but excluded the First Nation population from the statistics. The tables provided details, on a national scale, of the small number of non-Aboriginal children who were employed. The statistics *Children in Gainful Occupations* revealed that for girls 10 to 13 years of age, 1,092 out of 365,061 were employed in domestic or other occupations; whereas for boys 10 to 13 years of age, 7,729 out of 371,519 were employed predominantly in agriculture (of the 7,729 boys employed, 5,343 were sons of farmers) (p. 2). The 1921 census stated that it was "unfortunate that Indians could not have been altogether excluded from [these] calculations," but it did report, however, that " the improvement in their general education status is proceeding very slowly, as shown by their very high percentage of illiteracy in 1921. Their illiteracy in 1901 and 1911 cannot be separated from that of the rest of the population" (p. 70).

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[12] *Illiteracy* defined as complete lack of education (Canada Census, 1921, p. 19).

The 1946-1948 Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on the Indian Act

The education of Treaty 7 children over the next decades did not lessen the gap identified by the 1921 census between First Nation and Non-Aboriginal students. In 1946 a Special Joint Committee of the House of Commons and the Senate was appointed to review the Indian Act, which had not been amended since 1927, and to recommend appropriate administrative and policy changes—including the operation of day and residential schools. The committee sat during three sessions of Parliament from 1946 to

1948 and heard submissions from various interested parties from across the country. In reference to education, submissions focussed on the basic need for school construction, the right of First Nation children to attend school, the requirement of students to work half days, and parents' desire to have their children grow up in their homes and not in residential schools. Jim McMurtry, in a study of the Joint Committee's work, summarized the general tone of the submissions regarding the state of First Nation schools as follows:

> Notoriously underfunded, poorly equipped and constructed, [and teachers were] paid less than their colleagues in neighbouring public schools. The residential schools attracted great criticism because of the half-day labor system [which] obliged the children to work in the fields, sew, clean, etc. for several hours each day, thereby greatly restricting classroom time. (McMurtry, 1985, p. 61)

The standards in the schools were also criticised. Submissions forwarded to the Committee stated that "the educational opportunities and resources granted to Indian children were not adequate or sufficient" (p. 59). The submission from the Southwestern Indians of Ontario further clarified this by stating that they wanted "educational standards . . . equal to that of the other citizens of southwestern Ontario" (Special Joint Committee, 1947, Vol. II, p. 1320).

The Indian Association of Alberta, to which the Treaty 7 Nations belonged, presented its comprehensive submission to the Joint Committee. The Indian Association's document focussed on two areas, the practical requirement of school construction and education as a treaty right. The Sarcee Day School on the Tsuu T'ina reserve was described as a "dilapidated residential school which later became a hospital" (Special Joint Committee, 1946, p. 823) and now served the community as a school. It was suggested that it was more economical to build a new school than to repair the building. The school was a "long way from any centre of population" and the Indian Association submission reminded the Joint Committee that the "School Acts in various provinces regulated the distances children may be expected to travel" (p. 823) as usually three miles, whereas the Tsuu T'ina children were required to travel as much as five miles on poor roads, often considered dangerous during the winter time simply to get to school.

The committee was informed of the status of Saint Cyprian's School on the Peigan reserve, which was in urgent need of repair, particularly in the following areas:

> 1. The water seepage from the well into the school basement should be stopped.
> 2. Plaster throughout the school should be removed.
> 3. Leaking roof in girl's dormitory should be repaired at once.
> 4. Two exits from the dorm installed for fire escape purposes. (Special Joint Committee, Vol. 1, 1946, p. 825)

The Peigan nation believed that their children were subjected to "dangerous conditions" at the residential school, which was so poorly constructed that it

> cannot stand up to the winds we have on this reserve. . . . In the boys dorm, for instance, on windy nights, they have to hold on to their beds to prevent them banging together. . . . In the girls dorm . . . the smaller girls are awakened from their sleep and start crying for fear the building will blow over. (p. 826)

The Peigan nation believed that the school building was unfit and asked not only for a new school, but also that schooling on the reserve be changed to a "semi-residential" facility which would permit the children to "spend regular vacations, national holidays and weekends at home" (p. 825) with their parents. In the area of instruction, the Peigan people requested that a second teacher be employed at the school "as the burden is too great for one" teacher (p. 825).

The school at Morley on the Stoney reserve was described as "completely inadequate for the number of school age children on the reserve" (Special Joint Committee, 1946, p. 827) and the Indian Association of Alberta requested an addition to the school to accommodate the children who were "denied any kind of education at all by reason of lack of space" (p. 827). The Stoney Nation, whose members resided on three different reserves, argued for a school to be constructed so that the "children who lived with their parents at Pekisko and Nordegg" (p. 827) might be able to attend school for the first time, since no school existed in these two locations.

The Indian Association of Alberta's submission also drew the committee's attention to the requirement for "academic education" within the First Nation schools, for unless "the Indians are to be intentionally maintained as an inferior race" it was essential for the federal government "to acknowledge its duty and responsibility" for First Nation education and fulfil its commitment as "promised in the Treaty" to provide "free education" (Special Joint Committee, 1946, p. 803). The Indian Association not only restated that education was a treaty right and stated to the Joint Committee that "whereas Indians are entitled by Treaty certain rights and whereas changing times may endanger these rights, be it resolved that all rights and privileges guaranteed by Treaty be reaffirmed" (p. 802) by the Government of Canada, in the right of the King of England. In order to implement the treaty right to education, the Indian Association argued that "any and all Indian children be allowed to attend outside day schools, when possible, until the reserve day school" (p. 806) was established. The Indian Association believed that not only was education a treaty right, but it was also in the "principle that education is a threefold responsibility—school, home, and church" (p. 803) and that day schools, not residential schools, best serve this goal. Parents, it was stated,

> can . . . educate children in the household and farm duties so long a feature of the residential school. Parents moreover have a right to the company of their children, and a right as parents to supervise their home life. (p. 803)

Day schools would therefore allow parental involvement in the day-to-day life of their children and cement a family relationship which had long been denied First Nation parents; at the same time, it would permit the schools to "concentrate upon its proper function, academic and trades training" (p. 803).

The Indian Association of Alberta argued "that much work is to be done" in regards to First Nation education and suggested that although the "peoples of Europe" were in need of assistance following the Second World War, surely "charity, may begin at home, where there is also great need of educational, social, and economic readjustments necessary on the various member reserves" of Canada and requested that a Royal Commission be established to "investigate needs of the Indians" (Special Joint Committee, 1946, p. 799). The federal "education systems, however, efficient at the time they were inaugurated, become inadequate for the needs of people in a changing world" (p. 803); and with reference to the provincial education systems, the Indian Association of Alberta stated that "no province in Canada has retained without revision an education system nearly 75 years old" (p. 803). It was time "that a properly equipped, modern day school, under properly certified and trained teachers, be established and maintained entirely at the expensive of the Federal Government" (p. 803) on each of the Treaty 7 reserves to meet the present needs of the Treaty people of Alberta.

Thus the Indian Association of Alberta submission to the Joint Committee asserted its treaty right to education. It focussed on the poor state of the educational facilities and the domestic and trades training their children received, and demanded facility and curriculum changes. It also argued against the separation of children from their parents for the purpose of attending residential schools:

> No child can develop as he should without the care and affection of family life. The restrictions, discipline, exclusive use of English, etc. in the Residential schools are now recognized as having a harmful effect on immature minds and bodies. It is the belief of this Organization that this hiatus in family ties and parental training is at least partially the cause of post-school delinquency. . . . Indian parents have an invaluable regard for the companionship of their children. (Special Joint Committee, 1947, Vol. 1, p. 579)

Although their submission was based on the educational situation in Alberta, it was not dissimilar to those submissions from other First Nation organizations.

In a number of aspects, the picture of Indian education revealed by the First Nations was not overly different from the scenario presented by the Department of Indian Affairs representatives when they appeared before the committee. The Director of Indian Affairs Branch reported to the committee that the enrolment of First Nation students across Canada numbered 18,805 and that approximately 12,000 children of school age, living in the northern and isolated areas of the provinces and in the North West Territories, "did not have access to educational facilities" (Special Joint Committee, 1946, p. 192). The 1946 *Annual Report* continued with the dismal picture of Indian education, and the Department recorded that the traditional "scarcity of teachers" plagued schools and that "several unqualified teachers" were employed; furthermore, 14 schools did not open for the school year due to "the inability to secure teachers" (p. 195). Indian Affairs expended $2,298,320 on education in 1946, which represented the gradual growth of $354,518 over the 1927 expenditures (p. 207). In the House of Commons, the Member of Parliament for Yorkton, added to the bleak description of Indian education:

> While there are 130,000 Indians in the country, our education and training of these people take care of only about 16,000. Of this number enrolled, only 883 reach grade 7, 324 reach grade 8, and seventy-one reach grade 9. I notice in three

> of the provinces there are no grade 9 students. (Castledean, House of Commons Debates, 1946, p. 5489)

The 1946-1948 Joint Committee's first interim report to Parliament recommended that the Indian Affairs Branch immediately undertake the drafting of plans:

> 1. For the construction of such additional accommodations as is necessary to relieve the present over-crowding in certain Indian day schools;
> 2. To provide for the construction of such other Indian day schools as . . . are needed. (Special Joint Committee, 1946, p. 188)

The 1947 interim report to Parliament recommended that

> the whole matter of education of Indians be left over for further consideration. In the meantime, however, it is recommended that all educational matters, including the selection and appointment of teachers in Indian schools, be placed under the direct and sole responsibility of the Indian Affairs Branch. (Special Joint Committee, 1947, Vol. II, p. 2004)

This action resulted in all teachers hired by Indian Affairs receiving the same benefits as other federal civil servants, such as job tenure and pension benefits. It also resulted in the first educational conference in 12 years which was held for "the most vital factor . . . in planning long range policy as well as . . . immediate measures designed to facilitate the work of the administration both at headquarters and in the field" (*Annual Report*, 1949, p. 189).

In its final report in 1948, the committee recommended revisions to the Indian Act "to make possible the transition of Indians from wardship to citizenship and to help them to advance themselves" (Special Joint Committee, 1948, p. 187). In reference to education, the committee recommended "the revision of those sections of the Act which pertain to education, in order to prepare Indian children to take their place as citizens" (p. 188). Specifically, the committee recommended that "wherever and whenever possible Indian children should be educated in association with other children" (p. 188). These recommendations were made despite submissions from First Nations in Alberta and across Canada, all of whom stated a preference for day schools located on reserves. The Indian Association of Alberta, whose submission stated that "educational needs . . . can best be served by the establishment of day schools," had recognized that "residential schools should be continued on certain reserves" (Special Joint Committee, 1947, Vol. I, pp. 579-580) in certain circumstances.

The proceedings led to the introduction of Bill 79 to Parliament, which received Royal assent on June 20, 1951, and the newly amended Indian Act came into force. Sections 113 to 122 of the act related to schools and enabled the Governor in Council to authorize the Minister of Indian Affairs

> to enter into agreements on behalf of Her Majesty for the education in accordance with this Act of Indian children with
> (A) the government of a province,
> (B) the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories,
> (C) the Commissioner of the Yukon Territory,
> (D) a public or separate school board, and
> (E) a religious or charitable organization. (Indian Act, 1952, Sec. 113)

As well,

> (2) The Minister may, in accordance with this Act, establish, operate and maintain schools for Indian children. (Indian Act, 1952, Sec. 113).

1959 Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Indian Affairs

A decade after the 1946-1948 Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, a subsequent Joint Committee was appointed, co-chaired by the Honourable Senator James Gladstone, a member of the Blood reserve; and the Conservative Member of Parliament for Bellechase, Noel Dorion. The committee met during the spring and summer of 1959, a much shorter length of time than its predecessor had, and its focus was also more limited in scope. The committee centred its inquiry on the increased budget of the Department of Indian Affairs, particularly in reference to education. In the decade between the two Joint Committee hearings, the education budget rose from $5,400,000 in 1948-1949 to an estimated $22,000,00 in 1958-1959. During the same decade the school population rose from 23,285 to 38,836 students, an increase of 65%, and the total First Nation population had risen from 136,407 to 174,242 (Joint Committee, 1959, p. 15).

Lieutenant Colonel D. M. Fortier, Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, was responsible for the Department of Indian Affairs. He appeared before the Joint Committee and stated:

> It is true that the population has increased, but it is also true that there has been a great improvement in the school program and we have now better facilities to provide education to the Indians. It is also interesting to note that an increased number of Indians are receiving their education with non-Indian children. This should facilitate greatly their adoption to the new life which they will have to face. (Joint Committee, 1959, p. 13)

The Deputy Minister also stated that

> there is no doubt that there is still much to be done for the Indians but . . . the Indian is too often looked upon as a ward of the Crown or a second class citizen. I am sure that if Indians were given similar chances in becoming educated and trained in trades and professions and were treated as equals they would, as any member of other ethnic groups in this country, prove that they are equally fit and able to achieve success. (p. 13)

R. F. Davey, Chief of the Educational Division of the Department of Indian Affairs, also appeared before the Joint Committee and presented the educational goals of the Indian Education Program, which included the following,

> 1. The education of school age Indian children as a preparation for them to take their place in Canadian society as socially and economically competent citizens.
> 2. Education of children and adults [was] to develop core of leadership for Indian communities.
> 3. To prepare Indian adults for employment. (Joint Committee, 1959, p. 26)

Davey reported to the committee that it was the policy of the Department of Indian Affairs to follow provincial curriculum in the federal reserve schools and to stress academic studies until Grade 10 "due to the fact that most employers hiring staff tend to insist on at least grade 10 education" (p. 27). To this end, therefore, the Department of Indian Affairs stated that it was the "policy of the branch to avoid as much as possible the establishment of Indian high schools through the admission of Indian education to non-Indian schools" (p. 27). The Department also stated before the Committee, that it was their policy

> to ensure that no Indian is denied the opportunity of post secondary education simply because his parents cannot afford to assume all or even a part of the costs, and of recent years no Indian has been refused the opportunity for further education solely due to lack of funds. (p. 27)

The Department of Indian Affairs, similarly to its actions following the signing of Treaty 7 in 1877, continued to rely upon other nongovernment agencies to assist in the provision of education to First Nations. The Deputy Minister stated before the Joint Committee, that the

> "white man's" community has become more interested in the welfare and economic development of Canadian Indians . . . due in great part to work done by Indian Affairs staff and missionaries . . . [who] endeavoured to interest a great number of voluntary agencies in the welfare of Indians. (p. 13)

The Joint Committee supported the educational goals of the Department of Indian Affairs. It believed that the increase in the national enrolment of First Nation students in high schools (from 611 in 1948-1949 to 2,144 students in 1958-1959), the increased number of students enrolled in provincial schools, and the number of students attending post secondary institutions augured well for the future and would ensure that First Nation people were "prepared to face the new conditions of life" (Joint Committee, 1959, p. 12).

1960-1961 Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Indian Affairs

Two years later another Joint Committee was appointed to continue the work begun by the 1959 committee. Senator Gladstone and the Member of Parliament for Bonaventure, Lucien Grenier, were Joint Chairmen. The Catholic Indian League of Canada, to which members of the Blackfoot Confederacy and the Tsuu T'ina Nation belonged, presented a brief to the Joint Committee. The Chiefs, councillors, and other First Nation delegates stated in their presentation that

> in a country founded on Christian and democratic principles, . . . the basic right of a parent upon his child, the right to send him to the school of his choice, the right to teach him the truths in which he himself believes, and the right to be himself. (Joint Committee, 1960, p. 251)

were basic rights which had been denied First Nations. Furthermore, the League wanted "the voice of Indians to be heard"; they did not want the existing day schools "forcibly" closed, but they supported integration of their children in provincial schools only when "desired by the individuals concerned, both Indian and non-Indian" and that "non-Indian teachers [were to] be prepared and willing to understand and help Indian children" and "the rights of parents [were] to be respected at all times" (p. 254). Furthermore, the members of the league did not wish to "attain" education at the expense of having to "forsake our Indian heritage. . . . We want our children to be proud of us and our communities . . . [and] live in a family environment" (p. 252). Despite religious difference, Gerald Tail Feathers, who represented the Protestant delegation from the Blood reserve, requested the "gradual removal of all classrooms in residential schools"; and the Chief of the Blood reserve, Jim Shot on Both Sides, requested the construction of a nonresidential high school on the reserve (p. 970).

The Department of Indian Affairs, however, in its presentation to the Joint Committee stated that day schools on reserves went only to Grade 10 and that "the gathering momentum of the progress of integration" (Joint Committee, 1960, p. 493) over the past year had resulted in an additional 20 capital agreements with provincial school boards for the "spaces" for Indian children to attend provincial schools at a cost of $1,330,754, which added to the already 104 existing capital agreements. The Chief of the Educational Directorate of the Department of Indian Affairs, when questioned by the Honourable Judy LaMarsh, provided data on the educational attainment of adults living on reserve and stated that "25 per cent of the Indians were not able to read simple material from a newspaper or do simple arithmetical computations—simple addition or subtraction" (p. 495). Many of the same issues which had plagued Indian education from the early days had not been mitigated by the 1960s. The Indian Affairs Chief of Education reported that of a total school age population of 45,000, 2,000 children were not enrolled in school, that securing qualified teachers continued to be an issue, and that 11.1% of the teachers hired in reserve schools did not meet provincial teaching qualifications (p. 500).

The Joint Committee in its final statement believed that education was necessary, if Indian people were to "fit into our [Canada's] economic and social structure" and recognized that "many Indians have not had the same opportunity as non-Indians in obtaining a formal education" (Joint Committee, 1961, p. 611). It recommended that because "the question of amalgamated schools brings with it problems arising out of cultural difference, language barriers and economic status," Indians should not be allowed "to interfere" with integration (p. 610). The Joint Committee stated further that provincial education authorities should be approached to ensure that textbooks presented a "more accurate account of Indians" and adult education, and that "intensive educational programs" should be established" (p. 612). Finally, the Joint Committee stated that it was evident that "the winds of change" were "blowing through the ranks of Indian people" and that "time is fast approaching when Indian people can assume the responsibility and accept the benefits of full participation as Canadian citizens," and, therefore, that the "government should direct more authority and responsibility to Band Councils (p. 610).

Hawthorn Report, 1967

In 1967, almost a century after the signing of Treaty 7, the Department of Indian Affairs in *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada* reported on the economic, political, and educational needs of First Nation people. As a part of the field research for the Survey, representatives of Indian Affairs travelled to reserves and Indian Affairs agencies across Canada, including the Blood, Stoney, and Tsuu T'ina reserves. The two-volume document became known as the *Hawthorne Report*. In reference to education, the report stated that "the schooling of Indian children today raises many questions; . . . their schooling is not justified by results" (Hawthorne, 1967, p. 6). Furthermore, it noted that "during the first 90 years of our existence [as a Canadian nation] the Indian people of Canada have not shared in our growth" because "the enormous economic gap between the Indian and non-Indian communities is due to the fact that for a very long time, the Indians were excluded from the economic life of the rest of Canada" (p. 24). The report supported its argument by stating that "each year approximately 36 per cent of the Indian populations must be supported [on social allowances] compared to 3½ per cent of non-Indian population" (p. 24). The report made a number of recommendations, the primary one being that "the principle of integrated education for all Canadian children is recommended without basic question. The integration of Indian children into public school system should proceed" (p. 12). The report stated further that

> till recently, the federal government had always considered itself as bearing the sole responsibility for Indian affairs. But....the Government of Canada has wished to share this responsibility with the provinces, by virtue of the principle that Indians are also citizens of the provinces.... (p. 21)

The federal government was prepared to share responsibility with the provinces in matters relating to Indians. The report commented that "treaties are the source of the protectionist paternalistic attitudes which for a long time influenced federal administrators"; and, furthermore, treaties have "been partly responsible for the fact that Indian communities generally still remain outside of the mainstream of Canadian economic, social and cultural events" (p. 22). The *Hawthorne Report* indirectly had a major effect on First Nation education and would ultimately bring to the forefront the issue of education as a treaty right. The report formed many of the basic arguments put forth in the 1969 Liberal government policy paper relating to Indian Affairs and programs for First Nation people including the education program.

A "Just Society"

On March 6, 1969, following a Parliamentary discussion on various aspects of First Nation education and economic matters, Mr. Orlikow, Member of Parliament for Winnipeg North, addressed the Minister of Indian Affairs, Jean Chretien: "We members of parliament, and more so the Indian people of Canada, have had enough of fine speeches. What we want is some action" (Orlikow, House of Commons Debates, March 5, 1969, p. 6307). On June 19, 1969, the Minister of Indian Affairs responded in Parliament: "It is time to offer to the people of Canada, including the Indians, a new policy." He stated that "the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development is in the process of phasing out residential schools and entering into educational agreements with provincial governments" (Orlikow, House of Commons Debates, June 19, 1969, p. 10441) for the education of First Nation children. A few days later, refining his policy, the Minister of Indian Affairs announced, "Indian people have the right to full and equal participation in the cultural, social, economic and political life of Canada" and in order to accomplish this,

> First, the legislative and constitutional basis of discrimination must be removed. Second, there must be a positive recognition by everyone of the unique contribution of Indian culture to Canadian life. Third, services must come through the same channels and from the same government agencies for all Canadians. Fourth, those who are furthest behind must be helped to catch up. Five, lawful obligations must be recognized. Sixth, control of Indian lands must be transferred to the Indian people. (Chretien, House of Commons Debates, June 25, 1969, p. 10582)

The implementation steps to accomplish these goals, the Minister stated, would be to repeal the Indian Act and to "propose to the governments of the provinces that they take over the same responsibilities for Indians that they have for other citizens in their province" (House of Commons Debates, June 25, 1969, p. 10482), including the transfer of federal funds normally expended on Indian programs. Thus the Minister of Indian Affairs launched what would become known as the *White Paper*. Reaction was swift. In Parliament the Honourable W. G. Dinsdale (Brandon-Souris) stated:

> I do not think there has been any greater mistake than the premature policy statement the minister made a short time ago. . . . I have been bombarded by telegrams, briefs and personal letters from Indians in every part of the country. (House of Commons Debates, July, 11, 1969, p. 11138)

and "there has been universal condemnation . . . on the part of Indian leaders" (p. 11138) to the government's *White Paper*. Furthermore, the Member of Parliament for Brandon-Souris stated, "The just society that Mr. Trudeau alludes to must be based on mutual respect, mutual consideration, mutual understanding, integrity and good faith. This document, this policy, does not reflect any of this" (p. 11139).

First Nation reaction to the *White Paper* was united in opposition to the Liberal policy paper. The *White Paper* not only unified First Nations in their opposition to it, but also forced First Nations to formalize their educational rights and demands, and also to actively pursue both their treaty right to education and their basic rights as a People. At an All Chiefs Conference, June 20-22, 1970, the Indian Chiefs of Alberta stated that the government of Canada's Indian policy was "paternalistic and protective" (Lusty, n.d., p. 5). Collectively, in response to the Liberal government's Indian policy paper, the Indian Chiefs of Alberta prepared a document in which the opening preamble stated:

> To us who are Treaty Indians there is nothing more important than our Treaties, our lands and the well being of our future generation. We have studied carefully the contents of the Government White Paper on Indians and we have concluded that it offers despair instead of hope. . . . The government has devised a scheme. . . . What Indians asked that the Canadian Constitution be changed to remove any reference to Indians or Indian lands? What Indians asked that Treaties be brought to an end? What Indians asked that aboriginal rights not be recognized? . . . The answer is that no Treaty Indian asked for any of these things. (Indian Chiefs of Alberta, 1970, p. 1)

Furthermore, the Treaty people of Alberta in their "Counter Policy to the Chretien paper" stated that the federal government must

> recognize that the treaties are historic, moral and legal obligations. The redmen signed them in good faith, and lived up to the treaties. The treaties were solemn agreements. Indian lands were exchanged for the promises of the Indian Commissioners who represented the Queen. (p. 7)

In June 1970 the Chiefs of Alberta gave a presentation entitled *Citizens Plus* (Indian Chiefs of Alberta, 1970) to the Prime Minister and demanded that the government of Canada "declare that it accepts the treaties as binding and must pledge that it will incorporate the treaties in updated terms in an amendment to the Canadian Constitution" (p. 10). In reference to education, the Indian Chiefs of Alberta stated:

> Our education is not a welfare system. We have free education as a treaty right because we paid in advance for our education by surrendering our lands. . . . We expect that the promises made when we signed the treaties ceding our lands will be honored. (pp. 14-15)

The document detailed First Nations' expectations for "Indian education, the maintenance of Indian culture, and the development of Indian communities" (p. 57) and Chief John Snow of the Stoney nation stated "the only way to maintain our culture is for us to remain as Indian" (p. 183).

Ultimately, *Citizens Plus* (Indian Chiefs of Alberta, 1970) formed the basis for the national First Nation submission entitled *Indian Control of Indian Education*, submitted by the National Indian Brotherhood to the Government of Canada in 1972. Subsequently in a letter dated February 2, 1973, the Minister of Indian Affairs, Jean Chretien, wrote:

> I agree completely with the paper's basic position of Indian parental responsibility and local control of education in partnership with the Federal Government. With the new authorities for transferring control of education to Band Councils, officials of my Department are ready to work out procedures for effective transfer. (Letter, J. Chretien to G. Manuel, February 2, 1973)
>
> Furthermore, the Minister wrote:
>
> The paper is a significant milestone in the development of Indian education in Canada. . . . I wish to assure you that I and my Department are fully committed to realizing the educational goals for the Indian people which are set forth in the policy proposals (Letter, J. Chretien to G. Manuel, February 2, 1973)

Indian Control of Indian Education (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972) espoused the Indian Philosophy of Education, which included the principles of "pride in one's self, understanding one's fellowmen, and living in harmony with nature" (p. 1). The document also included a Statement of Values which emphasized "self-reliance, respect for personal freedom, generosity, respect for nature and wisdom" and addressed the "Jurisdictional Question of Responsibility for Indian Education" (p. 2). The document stated that "the Federal Government has legal responsibility for Indian education as defined by the treaties and the Indian Act. Any transfer of jurisdiction for Indian education can only be from the Federal Government to Indian Bands" (p. 5). In reference to local control of education, the document stated that the federal government "must take the required steps to transfer to local Bands the authority and the funds which are allotted for Indian education" (p. 6); thus one hundred years after signing Treaty 7, the people of the Blackfoot, Blood, Peigan, Stoney and Tsuu T'ina nations had a vehicle to once more control the education of their own children. In 1986 the Department of Indian Affairs received approval from the Treasury Board of Canada for the devolution or transfer of the education program to First Nation administration. Subsequently, between 1986 and 1989, the five Treaty 7 First Nations assumed administrative control of their own educational programs, with assurance from the Minister of Indian Affairs, Bill McKnight, that in assuming responsibility for the administrative take-over of education, their Treaty Right to Education would not be affected in any way.

The Chiefs and Headmen had entered into treaty negotiations with the Treaty Commissioners in order to "share" their land and to receive certain rights in return. The anticipation that the treaty right to education would be additional to their own educational endeavours faded from grasp soon after the signing of Treaty 7. Settlement on reserve did not automatically result in the availability of "teachers to instruct the children of said Indians" of Treaty 7 (Treaty 7, 1966, p. 5). Decimated by the collapse of the buffalo economy, The People's expectations for formal schooling depended upon their own initiatives and those of the Roman Catholic and Methodist missionaries. Whereas the early missionaries had lived among them and attempted to learn the language of The People, offering instruction in reading and writing to both adults and children alike, the post-Treaty day schools constructed on the reserves offered instruction only to young children. Nevertheless, these early day schools had been located within the reserve community and provided instruction to children who often journeyed long distances by foot or pony to attend the schools. By the turn of the century, these day schools often built co-operatively by The People and the missionaries gave way to the federally funded residential schools which, usually built with federal funds. The residential schools offered little or no opportunity for community input and were for all intent and purpose "apart" from the community. Residential schools removed the children from their parents' care and attention. The absence of parental care, poor academic achievement, and the requirement for the children to work at various "employment" activities within the schools was brought to public attention through numerous Parliamentary reports. However, not until the First Nation people across Canada responded to the Liberal government's 1969 *White Paper* would the education of First Nation people in Canada come to the forefront. The subsequent acceptance by the Minister of Indian Affairs, Jean Chretien, of the National Indian Brotherhood's *Indian Control of Indian Education* would allow First Nation people the opportunity to control the education of their communities and reaffirm their language, culture, and educational beliefs.

CHAPTER IX

SOLILOQUY

Following the presentation of Joe Crowfoot, Councillor for the Siksika Nation, before the 1960-1961 Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Indian Affairs, Conservative Member of Parliament for Macleod, Lawrence Kindt, stated:

> I would like to add a footnote to what Councillor Crowfoot said concerning the signing of that Treaty. I wonder if you can visualize that open prairie on the reserve with the RCMP here, the Indians, the government officials and so on? It was one of the most solemn occasions. (Joint Committee, 1960, p. 970)

Few Canadians, however, take time to imagine. Non-Aboriginal people rely on government records relating to the signing of Treaty 7 to stipulate what took place at Blackfoot Crossing more than a century ago; the Treaty 7 people rely on their oral history to inform them of the happenings which took place between their ancestors and the Treaty Commissioners. Each of these two entities documented the meeting at Blackfoot Crossing in their own way, a dichotomy which resulted in the numbered treaties being viewed "for most of the twentieth century" not as a "sacred commitment," but as tragic examples of "misunderstanding" (Friesen, 1986, p. 41)—a "misunderstanding" which led to the divergence of opinion regarding not only how education would be delivered, but also the very essence of what education or "instruction" actually encompassed. Despite the mutual agreement of the Treaty Commissioners and the Treaty 7 Chiefs that education would serve as a bridge to the future, for over 100 years schooling provided for First Nations was synonymous with separation of families, cultural suppression, and, as numerous Parliamentary commissions attested to, inferior educational services, which, although both parties negotiated in good faith at Blackfoot Crossing, failed to provide the Treaty 7 people with an equitable service or outcomes to those received by other Canadians. Although no single factor doused the mutual expectations at Blackfoot Crossing, a number of intertwining circumstances created the dismal education pattern for the Treaty 7 people and heightened their desire to secure the fulfillment of their treaty right to education.

Words, Content, and Interpreters

At Blackfoot Crossing negotiations and the associated meetings were conducted in the Blackfoot, Stoney, Tsuu T'ina, and English languages. Cree was also spoken because it was a common language among some of those gathered at the meeting. Criticism has been levelled at those who acted as interpreters and their inability to translate accurately both what Canada's chief negotiator, David Laird, said in his address to The People and, correspondingly, what the Chiefs and Headman stated. The interpreters were all hired by and represented in various roles Her Majesty's government. In 1874 the North-West Mounted Police hired Jerry Potts to act as a guide and interpreter, a position he held for the next two decades. He was, from all accounts, an effective interpreter for the Police force (Dempsey, 1966; Long, 1974). Potts learned his linguistic skills early in life; his mother, with whom he lived during his early years, was a member of the Blood Nation; whereas his father, a Scot, worked for the American Fur Company, among other positions. Their son lived and worked in English-speaking environments and went back and forth to the camps of his mother's people. In September 1877, Potts accompanied the Police force to Blackfoot Crossing in his role as interpreter. He did not survive the first day as interpreter; he was unable to translate David Laird's "expressive language" (Dempsey, 1987, p. 21), which Laird himself recorded as follows: "The Queen wishes us to offer you the same as was accepted by the Crees. I do not mean exactly the same terms, but equivalent terms, that will cost the Queen the same amount of money" (Morris, 1991, p. 268). These words in and of themselves were perhaps not difficult to translate, but prior knowledge of the specifics of the earlier numbered treaties, as well as the level of government funding appropriated to each of the previous treaties, was necessary in order to provide contextual meaning to Laird's utterance.

James "Jimmy Jock" Bird was called upon to replace Potts as an interpreter. Son of a Hudson Bay employee and a Cree mother, Bird spoke Cree, Blackfoot, English, and two other languages and for most of his life travelled and lived in the area from Fort Edmonton to the southern outreaches of the Treaty 7 area. His linguistic skills certainly had not endeared him to the Reverend Rundle three decades earlier. Rundle had often complained that Bird translated at will rather than providing direct translation of his sermons. After Potts' failure, Bird was the main interpreter for the negotiations at

Blackfoot Crossing. He was assisted by the Reverend Scollen and Jean L'Heureux, both of whom worked among the Blackfoot and Blood people, and John McDougall, the missionary with the Stoney Nation. The latter spoke English and Cree but did not speak Blackfoot and had only ministered to the Stoneys for three years; thus his use of Stoney was probably limited, although he served as the main contact between the Stoney people and the Treaty Commissioner. Two other interpreters involved in the treaty discussions were Isidore St. Duval and John Munroe. The latter's son, when interviewed many years later, stated:

> I stood right by my father, John Munroe, when he was talking to the Blackfoot Indians, . . . telling them what the Government wanted. There were many words and things which the Indians could not understand; . . . there are no words of meaning in Blackfoot. (Dempsey, 1987, p. 44)

Ultimately, only James Bird signed Treaty 7 as the official translator.

Despite this polyglot and the difficulties translating some of the concepts and words, the use of interpreters was a common practice at the time—an acceptable mode of conducting meetings between First Nations and non-Aboriginal people. Interpreters facilitated communication between two distinct peoples, discourse, a century later is frequently blamed for today's divergence of opinion between First Nations and the federal government regarding the basis of education for First Nation people. While communication between the two entities certainly could have been improved upon, it was, at the time, the most effective way of providing meaningful dialogue. Written and oral accounts of the events at Blackfoot Crossing reveal that the Treaty 7 people did not simply acquiesce to the government's wishes. They discussed the government's proposal both in their own camps and collectively, and from time to time sought clarification of Laird's message.

> On the following morning there was a rumor that the Indians in their own Councils could not agree, that a small party was opposed to making a treaty. . . . About noon, Crowfoot, with Mr. L'Heureux as interpreter, came to [Laird's] tent and asked for explanations on some points. (Morris, 1991, p. 258)

Despite the interaction, issues regarding the meaning of the articles negotiated at Blackfoot Crossing surfaced shortly after the conclusion of the mutual agreement, as evidenced in the 1884 *Annual Report*. Three of the Blackfoot Confederacy Chiefs, Crowfoot, Old Sun, and Eagle Tail, along with the Chief of Saddle Lake, travelled to Regina and on to Winnipeg, where they expressed their concern regarding both reserve land allocations and the lack of receipt of resources promised them at the signing of Treaty 7 and Treaty 6, respectively. The Chiefs were informed by representatives of the Government of Canada that an enquiry was conducted into their concerns, and it was believed that "the misunderstanding might have arisen through a bad Interpreter" (*Annual Report*, 1884, p. 160). The incident, less than a decade after Treaty 7 was signed, brings to the forefront the clash between oral and written communication. Chamberlain in *Culture and Anarchy in Indian Country* argued that both the oral and the written word are imperative; one form cannot gain dominance over the other. He wrote:

> The oral versions, the spoken texts, of the treaties are fundamentally important not just because they are original—though they certainly are—but because they are the texts upon which both the political authority and the cultural integrity of both sides ultimately depend. (Chamberlain, 1997, p. 36)

This was an integrity which The *Manitoba Free Press* accepted a century earlier, though certainly from a different focus. The newspaper recognized the independence of the Treaty 7 people to determine whether or not they would sign a proposed treaty with the Canadian government. It reported on September 13, 1877, "No method exists of compelling the Indians to accept the terms of the Government" (*The Manitoba Free Press*; as cited in Dempsey, 1987, p. 15). The recognition of both the independence of The People and their numerical superiority was not lost on the press. Although the issue of discourse is multifaceted, including the rhetoric of the times and the spoken word versus the legal interpretation, Chamberlain argued that

> the history of the treaties is the history of a clash not so much between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal traditions as between the domains of tradition and authority, and between the dynamics of cultural pluralism and political power; . . . that the cultural traditions of their people, their ways of passing on things of meaning and value in their lives, were more important—and more durable—than the sometime circumstances of the day. They were also non-negotiable. Authority, on the other hand, was always open to negotiation. (Chamberlain, 1997, p. 6)

Treaty Making

From the time of early contact, Europeans entered into military treaties with First Nations in the eastern area of North America. The British not only formed alliances with the First Nations but also the "imperial and colonial officials . . . developed a policy of treating with aboriginal peoples living in eastern North America for access to their lands for development purposes. This policy was rooted in the Royal Proclamation of 1763" (Ray et al., 2000, p. 32). The Royal Proclamation issued by the Governors of the British colonies recognized that

> our colonies and Plantations upon the Continent of North America does greatly depend upon the Amity and Alliance of the several Nations or Tribes of Indians bordering upon the said Colonies and upon a just and faithful Observance of those Treaties and Compacts which have heretofore solemnly entered into with the said Indians by Our Royal Predecessors. . . . We therefor [sic] . . . [are] determined upon all occasions to support and protect the said Indians in their just Rights and Possessions and to keep inviolable the Treaties and Compacts which have been entered into with them. (Cummings, 1970, p. 285)

Although the Treaty 7 people did not sign military treaties with the British, the early military treaties formed the basis of Canada's treaty commitment to First Nations across Canada (Borrows & Rotman, 1998, p. 112). There is no "firm definition of what constitutes a treaty in Canadian law," but there is a legal recognition, in reference to treaties, that "the parties' intentions, not their adherence to certain protocol is most relevant in ascertaining whether a valid treaty exists," as well as when there is "an agreement between Aboriginal peoples and the Crown that demonstrates the intention to create obligation and the presence of mutually binding obligations and certain measures of solemnity" (p. 112)

The meeting at Blackfoot Crossing was all about "the intention to create obligations" (Borrows & Rotman, 1998, p. 112) on behalf of both the Treaty 7 people and Canada in an atmosphere of protocol and solemnity. The People were skilled negotiators, and treaty making was a part of their mode of life, a way of life defined not by words on papers, but by the skills of treaty making. Throughout time the people of Treaty 7 had entered into treaties with other First Nations, and for the past 100 years economic, peace, friendship, and goodwill treaties were negotiated, often with the use of an interpreter, with American, British, and Canadian fur companies, explorers, and the American government. In 1855 the Blackfoot Confederacy members had negotiated with representatives of the government of the United States of America and subsequently signed the Lame Bull Treaty. On August 16, 1857, while at Fort Edmonton, Thomas Woolsey, the Methodist missionary, recorded in his *Diary* that he met with members of the Blackfoot and Blood tribes, and along with an interpreter, he discussed the Lame Bull Treaty with them. He wrote, "The main features of the American Treaty were gone into and their benefits clearly set forth, especially as causing an extension of missionary enterprise, the establishment of schools" (Dempsey, 1989, p. 58). The Blood Chief, referred to as Pokapiw-otoian, or Bad Head, in the list of Treaty 7 signatories had also signed the Lame Bull Treaty. He and other members of the Blackfoot Confederacy who attended the treaty negotiations at Blackfoot Crossing were cognizant of the failure of the Americans to carry out the Lame Bull Treaty promises (Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, 1996, p. 8). The Blackfoot Confederacy had also met at Fort Benton in 1865 to enter into a peace treaty with the Americans. Despite the agreement reached, the Treaty was not ratified by the United States government. Three years later the Bloods witnessed and participated in the ceremonies including the exchange of gifts but did not sign the Laramie Treaty (p. 8). Alexander Morris, chief negotiator for Treaties 3 to 6, was fully aware of the knowledge that the prairie First Nations had of the American treaties. He wrote in March 1877 to the Minister of the Interior, "Canadian Indians are fully aware of all that transpires there [in the United States], and of the much more liberal terms granted by the American Government to the Indians, when Treaties are made with them" (PAM.MG.B2.Box2/4,251).

At a general council of the Blackfoot Confederacy held during the fall of 1875, the members instructed that a letter be written on their behalf to the Lieutenant Governor of the North West Territories, Alexander Morris, regarding the influx of Métis and White settlers into their territory. The letter stated:

> In the winter of 1871 a message of Lieut. Gov. Archibald was forwarded to us on the Saskatchewan by Mr. I. W. Christie, a member of your Honourable Council, and the contents of said message was duly communicated to all your petitioners. . . . We understood said message to promise us that the Government, or the white man, would not take the Nations lands without a Council of Her Majesty's Indian Commissioner and the respective Chiefs of the Nation. (PAM.MG.12.B1. Box5/13.1265)

The Chiefs of the Blackfoot Confederacy stated further "that the white men have already taken the best location and built houses in any place they pleased in our 'hunting grounds'" and requested that a "Council" be held with the Indian Commissioner in order to put "a stop to the invasion of our Country, till our Treaty be made with the Government" (PAM.MG.12.B.1.Box5/13.1265). Their message indicates that members of the Blackfoot Confederacy were cognizant of the basic tenet of the numbered treaties—their land could not be settled until a treaty had been agreed to between themselves and the Queen's representatives.

In a letter to Morris, Father Scollen also expressed the uneasiness of the Treaty 7 people, who regarded "the white man . . . capable of doing them good or evil, according as he might be well or ill-disposed" (Morris, 1991, pp. 247-248). The Blackfoot wanted "a stop [put] to the invasion of our Country" (PAM.MG.12.B1.Box5/13.1265) by White settlers and traders. The Blackfoot Confederacy prayed "for an Indian Commissioner to visit us . . . so that we could hold a Council with him . . . [so that] a Treaty can be made with the Government" (PAM.MG.12.B1.Box5/13.1265). In 1875 Chief Crowfoot visited the Reverend John McDougall, and the latter wrote that the Chief "was full of questions regarding the future. I took time to explain to him the history of Canada's dealing with its Indian peoples thus far and assured him that I expected in due time treaties would be made" (McDougall, 1970, p. 15) with the Blackfoot Confederacy. Both Father Scollen and McDougall were signatories of Treaty 6, and correspondence has indicated that they discussed the government's treaty process with The People (Dempsey, 1972, p. 85). One Treaty 7 elder stated, "Our people believed in God, they respected the missionaries" (Treaty 7 Elder, 2000, interview) and took their advice. Through interaction with non-Aboriginal people and other First Nations, the Treaty 7 people were aware of the treaty making process undertaken by the Government of Canada. They had initiated contact with representatives of the Canadian government for the purpose of entering into a treaty with Her Majesty's representatives, and although it was certainly Canada's intent to sign a treaty with the Blackfoot Confederacy, nevertheless, records indicate that 1877 was earlier than the government had anticipated entering a treaty (PAM.MG.12.B.2. Box2/4.41).

The Ceremonies of Treaty Making

Canada was fully aware of the ceremony placed on treaty negotiations by First Nations, and as the British had in earlier colonial times, the Canadian government delegated authority to individuals for the purchase of presents to be used when dealing with First Nation people. Similarly, the Minister of the Interior, David Mills, wrote on June 28, 1877 that "the necessary expenses of the treaty [7] have been duly provided in the [Parliamentary] estimates for the coming year" (NAC.RG10, Vol.3650,8347). Seven years after the signing of Treaty 7, Edgar Dewdney, who at the time was Indian Commissioner, wrote to the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, L. Vankoughnet. His correspondence clearly identified the Canadian government's understanding of the role of gift giving in negotiations with First Nation people. Dewdney wrote:

> It has been custom from time immemorial that where a white man, H B. official or Half-breed visited any Indians that a present should be made—the same being in accordance with the importance of the mission or the circumstances of the donor—and even now none of our Interpreters will attempt to parley with Indians without giving them something in the shape of tea or tobacco. Of much more importance do I regard the transactions between the Government and Indians. (Glenbow, Dewdney Papers, Vol. V, p. 1112)

Although he failed to grasp the religious solemness of the gift exchange, seeing it only as "an influence over Indians," Dewdney nevertheless understood the importance of the gift exchange and the pipe ceremony in treaty making (Glenbow, n.d., Dewdney Papers, Vol. V, p. 1112). He commented further in the letter, "I have known Indians to refuse to treat on matters of importance pertaining to them until some such acknowledgement" (p. 1112) of the ceremonies associated with treaties was made.

At Blackfoot Crossing, ceremonies were adhered to by both The People and the representatives of the Government of Canada. In 1877 Cecil E. Denny, a member of the North-West Mounted Police, who was present at Blackfoot Crossing and wrote, "An escort consisting of one hundred and eight police, one hundred and nineteen horses, and two nine-pounder guns was detailed to accompany the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories during the making of the treaty" (Denny, 1939, p. 105). Laird recorded that "half an hour before the time appointed a gun was fired. . . . The Chiefs came forward first and were introduced to the Commissioners. . . . Flour, tea, sugar and tobacco" (Morris, 1991, p. 256) were distributed. The Chiefs and Headmen smoked the peace pipe with the Treaty Commissioners. Tom Yellowhorn of the Peigan Nation recorded that "smoking the peace pipe means there are no hard feelings [between people]. . . . The pipe ceremony is viewed as a most solemn ceremony, as it reconfirms 'faith in the great spirit'" (Treaty 7 Elders & Tribal Council, 1996, p. 88). Graham (1991), in *Treaty Days: Reflections of an Indian Commissioner*, wrote of the pipe ceremony:

> The power of the pipe was great among the Indians, the pipe is a symbol of many things and has a place in nearly every ceremony. The tradition is that when the pipe is present a man must do no wrong. All who smoke the pipe show by that action that they are friends of the others. (p. xiv)

Later, on conclusion of the treaty, Laird "gave the head Chiefs of the Blackfeet [sic], Blood, Piegans [sic], and Sarcees their flags and uniforms, and invested them with their medals" (Morris, 1991, p. 260).

Treaty Commissioners

David Laird, the newly appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories and Special Indian Commissioner, was delegated by the Governor-General in Council to enter into treaty with the Blackfoot Confederacy. As Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, he was aware of the growing influx of settlers into the territory and a few years earlier had chaired a government report on the decimation of the buffalo and the effect on The People's economy. In 1874 he served as Assistant Treaty Commissioner at the Treaty 4 negotiations at Qu'Appelle. Of prime importance, however, was his prior role as Member of Parliament for Prince Edward Island. Laird served in the cabinet as the Minister of the Interior and was fully aware of Canada's policy towards First Nations. As Minister, he was responsible for the introduction, on March 2, 1876, of an *Act respecting the Indians of Canada*. The Honourable David Laird said at the time that "the principal object of this Bill is to consolidate the several laws relating to Indians . . . in the interests of the Indian population throughout the Dominion" (House of Commons Debates, 1876, p. 342). In April 1876 Laird stated in Parliament, "This Act was in entire harmony with the surrender principle" and "as regards the North-West Territories, Manitoba and British Columbia, . . . [the government] . . . did not expect that these provisions would be applicable to the Indians living in those regions for some years to come" (p. 1037). Laird guided the Bill through Parliament, and on April 12, 1876, the Indian Act gained royal assent. It came into effect across Canada, and unlike Laird's earlier statement, the preamble declared, "This Act shall be known and may be cited as *The Indian Act, 1876* and shall apply to all the Provinces, and to the North West Territories" (Indian Act, 1876, Sec. 1). Although the Indian Act applied to the people of Treaty 7, there is no indication that it was mentioned during the negotiations at Blackfoot Crossing or that The People were aware of the act.

James Macleod, Lieutenant-Colonel of the North-West Mounted Police, was appointed Special Indian Commissioner for the Blackfoot Crossing treaty meeting. As the Government of Canada was fully aware, he had solidified a political relationship and to a degree a friendship with the people of the Blackfoot Confederacy following the establishment in 1874 of the Mounted Police post at Fort Macleod. The oral agreement between the Mounted Police and the Blackfoot Confederacy was a reciprocal agreement whereby each partner negotiated and secured their goal: The Blackfoot Confederacy gained the removal of the whiskey traders from their midst and the North-West Mounted Police, on behalf of Canada, established semimilitary posts in the unceded Blackfoot territory and by so doing cemented the western prairies as Canadian territory and spurned any American territorial incursion. Macleod's presence at Blackfoot Crossing was multipurposed. He was known to the Treaty 7 people, having negotiated with them, and carried out his commitment to rid the territory of the unfettered whiskey traders. His appointment by Canada was not, therefore, inconsequential.

By the time of the September meeting at Blackfoot Crossing, there was clearly a history of treaty making between the Treaty 7 people and those with whom they came into contact, and over the previous decade, to varying degrees, personal relationships had been established among the main participants. Furthermore, within the context of treaty making,

> in the native political and legal system the concept and practice of reciprocity is of fundamental importance. It has . . . the character of gift-giving and exchange—exchange which can have magical, social, religious, political, judicial, and moral aspects. Reciprocity, mutual obligation, governed interpersonal and kinship relations but is also basic to the Indian approach to the fur trade, and . . . to treaty making. (Friesen, 1986, p. 43)

Thus not only was the process and the sanctity of treaty making important to the Treaty 7 people, but also the role of kinship in treaty negotiations was a honoured aspect of the process. Relationships were solidified by the joint treaty-making experience, for "treaties between Indians were always negotiated" and "took days and sometimes weeks to reach and were conducted with much self-conscious oratory," a description which, along with the traditional "pipe-smoking, gift exchange, speeches of mutual reassurance, and feasting" (Friesen, 1886, p. 44), characterized the Treaty meeting at Blackfoot Crossing.

Canada's Voice

Traditional ceremonies were also characteristic of the procedures of the Canadian government seated in Ottawa. Both Morris and Laird received their directions and authority to negotiate the numbered treaties from the Governor General in Council. They were instructed "to secure the surrender of the Country on terms most favourable to the Government, without at the same time being wholly unsatisfactory to the Indians" (PAC.RG.10.Vol.3650.8347). A balance, however, which the Minister of the Interior did not believe that Morris had attained in negotiating Treaty 6 with the Cree people. On March 1, 1877, the Minister of the Interior wrote to Alexander Morris regarding his concern with both the services and the level of commitment that Treaty 6 placed on the government (PAM.MG.12.B2.Box2/4.251). He expressed his apprehension that the terms of Treaty 6 were "more onerous than those of former Treaties." Although the Minister's concerns related to "distribution of Agricultural implements, and the providing of seed grain" (PAM.MG12.B2.Box2/4.251), his comments reflected the government's desire to limit all provisions and terms in the treaties. Morris expressed "surprise" at the Minister of the Interior's "censure" and stated that he had "undertook an arduous and responsible duty" (PAM.MG12.B2.Box2/4.251) in negotiating the treaties in the North-West Territories. In defending himself, Morris wrote that he regretted

> to learn that His Excellency finds that in some respects, especially in the matter of the distribution of Agricultural Implements, and the providing of seed grain, the terms of this Treaty are more onerous than those of former treaties, as I am of opinion that though there is a slight increase in these articles beyond what was conceded at treaties 3, 4 and 5, yet that increase was not only justified by the circumstances, but was right and proper. (PAM.MG.12.B.2.Box2/4.251)

The increase in agricultural implements over previous treaty allocations was necessary, Morris believed, "since the Indians [were] anxious to make a living by the soil, and they had commenced so to do, under great difficulties" by "dragging the plough through the ground by their own strength" (PAM.MG.12.B2.Box2/4.215). Furthermore, Morris stated, "It would be impossible for them [the Crees] to cultivate the soil, extensively as they intended doing, with so few implements" (PAM.MG.12.B.2.Box2/4.251). Having spent the last decade in the North-West, Morris wrote:

> I have been convinced for some time, that if we are to succeed in inducing the Indians to cultivate the soil, the provisions of the former treaties are not sufficiently liberal with regard to implements and cattle to accomplish the desired end. (PAM.MG.12.B.2.Box2/4.215)

He reminded the Minister of the Interior that "we," the Government of Canada, "were seeking to acquire their country, to make way for settlement, and thus deprive them of their hunting grounds and their means of livelihood" (PAM.MG.12.B2.Box2/4.215).

Morris's involvement in both finalizing the issues relating to Treaties 1 and 2 and in negotiating the following four treaties led him to believe that there was "no cast iron form of Treaty which can be imposed on these people" across the Territories and disagreed with the Minister that "by publication of the Treaty amongst the Indians" similar demands by those "previously treated with" (PAM.MG.12.B2.Box2/4.251) would arise. He submitted that First Nation people were "treated" with at different times and that individual circumstances demanded different inclusions in treaties. He stated in reference to future negotiations, "I am of opinion that the terms of a Treaty with the Blackfoot must be adapted to their circumstances, and vary considerably from the Treaties already concluded" (PAM.MG.12.B2.Box2/4.251). His belief was based not only on the circumstances of the Treaty 7 people, but also on the knowledge that the Blackfoot were probably aware that the American government had agreed

> to furnish subsistence to the Sioux, until they should became self supporting, in the shape of daily rations, to be issued to the heads of families. They also promised them assistance in the way of Schools, and instruction in mechanical and agricultural arts, and the building for them of houses. (PAM.MG.12.B2. Box2/4)

Before Alexander Morris could negotiate with the Blackfoot Confederacy, he was replaced as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories by David Laird.

Canadian Government Indian Policy

The journey to Fort Macleod enroute to Blackfoot Crossing was David Laird's "first visit to the pioneer settlement of the Canadian North-West" (Morris, 1991, p. 264). Previously, however, as Minister of the Interior from 1873 to 1876, he was fully aware of the government's policy towards First Nation people. The Indian Act, which he championed through Parliament, created a uniform approach "in the control and management of the reserves, lands, moneys and property of Indians in Canada" (Indian Act, 1876, Sec. 2, as cited in De Brou & Waiser, 1992). Schools or education were not referred to in the 1876 act, other than in relation to the authority of Chief and Councils to establish rules and regulations for "the construction and repair of school houses" (Indian Act, 1876, Sec. 63 [6]; as cited in De Brou & Waiser, 1992). Prior to the passage of the act, David Laird, as Minister of the Interior, responded on February 19, 1875, regarding "enquiries made therein on behalf of the Indians of the Broken Head River Reserve" in relation to the "alleged promises made to the various bands of Indians at the time of the conclusion of Treaty No. 1" (PAM.MG12.B.2.Box2/4.934), and his letter clarified the government policy regarding school construction. He stated, "The Government is not bound under the Treaty to erect a schoolhouse on each Reserve, and that the Government consider their obligation in this respect discharged by the payment of a school teacher on each Reserve" (PAM.MG.12.B.2.Box2/4.934).

As Minister of the Interior, Laird spoke on behalf of the Government of Canada when he responded to the Broken Head River First Nation, which was a member of Treaty 1. The Treaty 1 education clause stated, "Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school on each reserve hereby made" (Morris, 1991, p. 333); however, Laird's response firmly indicated that it was government policy to pay teachers salaries rather than to construct schools. Within this context, Laird negotiated Treaty 7, and the wording relating to education is very similar to that in his letter of February 19, 1875. Treaty 7 stated, "Her Majesty agrees to pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to her government of Canada may seem advisable, when said Indians are settled on their reserves and shall desire teachers" (Treaty 7, 1966, p. 5).

All the records indicate, however, that at Blackfoot Crossing Laird did not discuss or raise the details of whether Canada was committed to constructing or maintaining schools or simply willing to pay the teachers' salaries. In his address to The People on Monday, September 17, 1877, Laird stated:

> The Great Mother loves all her children, white man and red man alike; she wishes to do them all good; . . . and as soon as you settle, teachers will be sent to you to instruct your children to read books like this one [the Governor referred to a Bible], which is impossible so long as you continue to move from place to place. I have now spoken. I have made you acquainted with the principal terms contained in the treaty which you are asked to sign. (Morris, 1991, pp. 267-269)

Over the next five days the Chiefs asked for clarification on aspects of the treaty promises relating to cattle, annuities, tobacco, guns, axes, and food; however, there is no further reference to education, although Laird told The People that the "Queen wishes to help you to live in the future in some other way" (Morris, 1991, p. 268). Utterances by both the First Nation leaders and the Treaty Commissioners that education was for the future of the First Nation children are consistent throughout Treaty 1 to Treaty 7 negotiations.

Change in the position of Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories did not result in any significant change in the format or composition of the treaties. Canada's intent was clearly to have a uniform approach to treaties in line with its single policy applying to all First Nations stemming from its jurisdictional authority in the Constitution Act of 1867. Federal legislation prior to 1877 supported the single-policy concept. The 1868 Management of Indian and Ordnance Lands was followed one year later by an Act for the gradual enfranchisement of Indians; ultimately, in 1876 the Indian Act established the consistent and uniform approach to all matters relating to First Nations across Canada. The uniform format for the numbered territories limited the variance in annuities or services from one treaty to the next and was consistent with Canada's Indian policy. Taylor (1985), in his review of Treaty 6 wrote, "An examination of the actual handwritten treaty [Treaty 6] suggests that it had been written in advance and then altered in the field to include negotiated promises (p. 8).

In reference to the proposed treaty 7 negotiations, the Minister of the Interior wrote on June 28, 1877:

> Further, . . . the terms to be granted to the Indians treated with should not, unless under very special circumstances exceed those granted to the Indians of Treaty 4, and should if possible be limited to the Indians of Treaty No. 5. (PAC.RG.10. Vol.3650.2347)

Government policy set the boundaries for negotiations with First Nation people, boundaries which limited the provisions and services. Straying too far from these defined guidelines not only subjected Morris to the ire of the Minister but attested to the negotiating skills of the First Nations and their ability to secure specific allowances, such as the medicine chest and assistance in time of pestilence or famine secured by the Crees at the Treaty 6 meeting.

The Treaty Education Clause

For the most part, however, the written wording used in the numbered treaties varied little from treaty to treaty (see appendix F). The education clause in Treaty 7 was simply, for the government of Canada, one of many similar statements included in the numbered treaties. Each successive treaty educational clause revealed Canada's decreasing commitment to First Nation education. In 1871, with the signing of Treaties 1 and 2, the education commitment stated, "Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school on each reserve hereby made, whenever the Indians of the reserve should desire it" (Morris, 1991, pp. 315-319). 12). Two years later Treaty 3 (1873), and subsequently Treaty 5 (1875) and Treaty 6 (1876), stated, "Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to her Government of her Dominion of Canada may seem advisable, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it" (p. 323). Treaties 3, 5, and 6 included the words *schools* and *instruction*; nevertheless, education was to be provided only when "Canada may seem advisable" rather than, as the earlier treaties had stated, when "Indians of the reserve should desire" (p. 323). In 1874 Treaty 4 stated, "Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school in the reserve, allotted to each band, as soon as they settle on said reserve, and are prepared for a teacher" (p. 333). Similar to

Treaties 3, 5, and 6, the Qu'Apelle Treaty or Treaty 4 committed Canada to maintain a school specifically for each band; however, Treaty 4 contained the proviso that First Nations must be "prepared" for a "teacher." No definition or reference to "prepared" was provided. Thus, although Canada promised to maintain schools on the individual reserves, for the most part, the Canadian government was to decide when schools were to be established.

The Treaty 7 educational clause is similar to that in the previous six treaties, but it does not mention the word school; rather, the commitment was to pay the teacher's salary. It stated, "Further, Her Majesty agrees to pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to Her Government of Canada may seem advisable when said Indians are settled on their Reserves and shall desire teachers" (Treaty 7, 1966, p. 5). Although the wording in each education clause is similar, the difference in the use of wording within the numbered treaties—from providing schools and teachers at First Nations' request to simply paying the salary of teaches—not only creates diversity in meaning but also reveals a decreasing commitment to provide education from Treaty 1 to Treaty 7.

A Fundamental Right to Education

The 1867 Constitution Act, section 91 (24), vested all legislative authority for Indians and Indian lands in the federal government. In so doing, it led to education of First Nation people being a federal responsibility and created a school system for those residing on reserve separate from Section 92 which granted the provinces jurisdiction over education. By the late 19th century, law in Britain and Canada recognized that children had a right to education, which was not "a matter of financial ability, parental desire and availability of education facilities"; furthermore, within the context of English common law tradition, the state's "obligation to individuals to educate children" (Foley, 1973, p. l) was entrenched. The right of all non-Aboriginal children to education was surely morally applicable to First Nation children—even though their parents did not enjoy the same citizenship rights as other adults—and required Canada to act in the best interest of Indian children. Furthermore, Canada was legally responsible to fulfil its educational responsibility to provide education services as a part of its jurisdictional responsibility within the Constitution Act and the treaties, equitable with those manifested in various provincial education acts. Canada did not create any specific First Nation educational legislation; rather, it administered education under the umbrella of the Indian Act and, from time to time, established educational policies and procedures in the form of directives and circulars by which to administer Indian education (Indian & Inuit Affairs, 1978). However, the system failed to provide equitable educational services or results to those provided to or obtained by non-Aboriginal students in provincial systems, as evidenced in the various parliamentary and royal commissions over the past century.

Numbered Treaties in Abeyance

As the 19th century drew to a close, the smoking of the pipe, the gift exchange, the verbal discussions, and the promises of the solemn meeting at Blackfoot Crossing faded from the government's agenda and lay dormant. The oral negotiations gave way to the details of the written document. The Canadian government relied upon its own legislation dating from 1868 and the 1876 Indian Act to define its relationship with and commitment to all First Nations, including the people of Treaty 7. What was negotiated and promised at Blackfoot Crossing became the subject of debate, from time to time, between two solitudes, each entity possessing its own understanding not only of what was said and negotiated, but also of the very role of education. Canada, with its emerging statehood, coupled with 19th-century liberalism and the belief in both the individual and progress, was "incapable of appreciating the essential nature of the differences between its own society and outlook" (Carr, 1961, pp. 52-54) and those of Treaty 7 or First Nations in general. The allegiance to and defence of Treaty 7 and the agreed-upon provisions rested with The People and, ultimately, Canada's legal system.

Legal Precedent

The Chief of the Blood Tribe, Jim Shot on Both Sides, appeared before the 1960-1961 parliamentary Joint Committee on Indian Affairs (1960) and in his address stated, "Many moons ago your forefathers and mine took each other by the hand and entered into a treaty" (p. 970). Another two decades passed, however, before Canada focussed on the treaties entered into by both the British and its own government with First Nations. It was, nonetheless, the provincial courts and ultimately the Supreme Court of Canada which brought to the forefront the agreements of yesteryear. Although the Court decisions have, for the most part, dealt with the treaty right to hunt and fish, the Courts have looked at the totality of the event of treaty making, not simply the specific words, and in so doing have established a more complete understanding of the treaty making process. Isaac (1995) thus wrote, "In addition to actual terms of a treaty, the minutes of meetings at which negotiations took place and events leading up to the signing of a treaty have been interpreted to convey rights: (p. 236). Isaac used the example of R. v. Taylor (1981; as cited in Isaac) to support his argument. The Ontario Court of Appeal found that

> although the written terms of an 1818 treaty did not contain a guarantee of hunting and fishing rights, the minutes of the council meeting between the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs and the chiefs of the six tribes who were parties to the treaty reveal that hunting and fishing rights on Crown lands in areas covered by the treaty were retained by the Tribe. (p. 236)

The Sioui ruling by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1990 also looked at the totality of treaty making. In General Murray's 1760 letter given to the Hurons, the Crown provided for the "free exercise of their religion, [and] their customs" (Isaac, 1995, p. 132); and in its decision the Supreme Court upheld the rights of the Huron descendants to practice their religion and customs in their traditional locale. The Quebec provincial Park Act was declared null and void, because the intention of Murray's letter was to create mutually binding obligations of primary importance. The Supreme Court's decision is significant in relation to education as a treaty right, for Sioui

> strengthened the value of treaty rights, writing into Canadian jurisprudence the words "the treaty must . . . be construed , not according to the technical meaning of its words by learned lawyers, but in the sense in which they would naturally be understood by the Indians. (Kulchyski, 1994, p. 183)

In Claxaton v. Saanichton Marina (1989; as cited in Isaac, 1995), a case which dealt with treaty fishing rights, the British Columbia Court of Appeal summarized the principles applicable to treaty interpretation and stated:

> 1. The treaty should be given a fair, large and liberal construction in favour of the Indians;
> 2. Treaties must be construed, not according to the technical meaning of their words but in the sense that they would naturally be understood by the Indians. (p. 104)

Thus in determining the meaning of the education clause in the numbered treaties, judicial rulings supported the consideration of the treaty education clause as a part of "the actual terms of a treaty, the minutes of meetings at which negotiations took place and events leading up to the signing of a Treaty have been interpreted to convey rights" (Isaac, 1995, p. 236).

In the preface to *The Treaties of Canada With the Indians of Manitoba and the North West Territories Including the Negotiations on Which They Were Based*, Morris (1991) stated that the treaties opened "up to [First Nations] a future of promise, based upon the foundations of instruction" (preface). At the Treaty 1 and 2 negotiations, the First Nation people were informed:

> Your Great White Mother the Queen, wishes to do justice to all her children alike. . . . She wishes her red children to be happy and contented. She wishes them to live in comfort. She would like them to adopt the habits of the whites . . . [so] you can live and prosper and provide like the white man. (p. 28)

In order to do so, the Chief of Lac Seul requested a "school-master to be sent them to teach their children the knowledge of the white man" (Morris, 1991, p. 49). At North West Angle, at the signing of Treaty 3, Morris stated, "I will also establish schools whenever any band asks for them, so that your children may have the learning of the white man" (p. 58). He clarified this by stating, "Whenever you go to a Reserve, the Queen will be ready to give you a school and schoolmaster" (p. 93). Mike Mountain Horse, born in 1888 on the Blood reserve, wrote in his 1930s manuscript that he was told that "education facilities for the Indian children were also to be the responsibility of the government" (Dempsey, 1979, p. 3). At the Treaty 6 negotiations, Morris declared, "Your children must be educated" (Morris, 1991, p. 201). John Yellowhorn, a Peigan elder interviewed in 1975, stated that the Treaty Commissioner told his ancestors that "your children will have an education" (Price, 1980, p. 141). A Treaty 7 elder, when interviewed in 2000, stated that the Treaty Commissioners promised "education for all our people. . . . All people would learn to speak English; . . . all people would be provided with an alternative [because] our traditional livelihood was taken away." Morris also told the Cree people, "When the Indians settle on a reserve and have a sufficient number of children to be taught, the Queen would maintain a school" (pp. 201-205). Furthermore, he stated, "Your children will be taught, and then they will be as well able to take care of themselves as the whites around them" (p. 213). Later at the same meeting, showing the influence of the Christian missionaries, the Crees listed their demands, including "a school teacher of whatever denomination we belong to" (Morris, 1991, p. 215), to which Morris replied, "You ask for school teachers. . . . I had already promised you that when you settled down, and there were enough children, schools would be maintained" (p. 217). Later, he wrote that "the universal demand for teachers" was "encouraging" and furthermore that "the Government can supply" (p. 194) such a demand. At the Treaty 4 gathering, Morris stated:

> You are the subjects of the Queen, you are her children; . . . she is always just and true. What she promises never changes; . . . promises we have to make to you are not for to-day only but for to-morrow, not only for you but for your children born and unborn, and the promises we make will be carried out as long as the sun shines and the water flows in the ocean. (Morris, 1991, pp. 94-96)

Similar to the recorded written word but less flamboyant, a Treaty 7 elder stated in 2000 interview, "The Commissioners said education would always be available to all our people." The elders interviewed unanimously stated that their traditional education "was lifelong" and that the Chiefs at Blackfoot Crossing understood that "the white man's education was for life," a treaty promise for the provision of education from birth to death, as long as the person lived.

When Laird addressed the people of Treaty 7, he continued the tradition of Canadian government promises made to First Nations on behalf of the Queen of the British Empire. His references to education built on what Morris and others had promised. At Blackfoot Crossing, Laird spoke of teachers being sent to "instruct" their children to read and held up the Bible to emphasize his statement. The People were acquainted with books as reading material. They understood, to varying degrees, the purpose of reading. Missionaries had brought the message of the Bible and distributed Bibles, New Testaments, and other reading material to them during the previous four decades. Children and adults alike were introduced by Roman Catholic and Methodist missionaries to reading and writing and in an interview, in 2000, a Treaty 7 elder stated, "The missionaries taught everyone; that is what our People understood formal education to be." Whether or not The People accepted Christianity, they had gained an understanding of the literary skills taught by the missionaries; and although their own education practices were holistic, involved the total community, and trained their people for a livelihood within their First Nation, they were, nevertheless, cognizant of Western formal education practices. The commitment to "instruct" provided for additional educational skills, to build upon community educational practices. James Macleod had sent a telegram to the Minister of the Interior on August 17, 1877, stating that the Blackfoot were "anxious that a treaty be made" (PAC.RG10.Vol.3650.8347) with them, and sought the treaty for the future of their children. The treaty promise of teachers within their communities meant a new educational service which ensured that "your children will be taught, and then they will be well able to take care of themselves as the whites around them" (Morris, 1991, p. 212). One Treaty 7 elder stated in an interview in 2000:

> Our ancestors taught their children how to hunt, snare, . . . [which] were our traditional means of survival. Our [means of] survival were taken away from us and the government promised us education for future success. The government is obliged to provide education as the treaty said.

The Treaty 7 people lived in a community of sharing, in which wealth was measured in the number of horses an extended family or band owned, and their economy was based on the buffalo. They did not have the wherewithal to finance or construct formal school buildings large enough to accommodate students and teachers—the very accommodation that The People had seen on their journeys. No references were found alluding to the responsibility for school construction, other than Canada's commitment to "establish" and "maintain" schools on reserve. In a booklet, *Our Indian Treaties*, Laird (1905) wrote that a part of the government's commitment at the time of the treaty signing was that "schools were also to be established on the reserves" (p. 6) The federal government overtly supported religious organizations delivering their message to The People, but there is no indication that these organizations were expected to construct schools on the reserve. The Treaty Commissioners at all times specified that the Canadian government, in the right of Queen Victoria, would provide education for The people. Judge Berstein wrote in R. v. Battisse:

> that the courts must not assume that His Majesty's [Treaty] Commissioners were attempting to trick or fool the Indians into signing an agreement under false pretences. . . . Ambiguity should be resolved in favour of the Indians. (Isaac, 1995, p. 102)

In 1982 the Canadian Constitution was repatriated, and the British North America Act (1867) was amended and renamed the Constitution Act. The act, in reference to the rights of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada, recognized and affirmed existing aboriginal treaty rights as follows:

> 35. (1). The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed.
> (2). In this Act, "aboriginal peoples of Canada" includes the Indian, and Métis peoples of Canada. (Constitution Act, Schedule B of the Canada Act, 1982)

Although the Constitution Act did not define treaty rights, the recognition of treaty rights solidified the government's fiduciary relationship with First Nations dating back to the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the subsequent special relationships, whether historical, political, legal, or socioeconomic which developed between the Crown and First Nation people (Isaac, 1995, p. 167). In 1982 Slattery (as cited in Isaac), in *Understanding Aboriginal Rights*, wrote, "The Crown has a general fiduciary duty toward native people to protect them in the enjoyment of their aboriginal rights" (pp. 167-168). However, it was the decision in R. v. Guerin (1985; as cited in Isaac) which brought the fiduciary responsibility of Canada in Aboriginal matters to the forefront. The Supreme Court of Canada, in the Guerin decision, held that "the federal Crown must act in the best interests of Indian peoples when dealing with Indian property and lands" (p. 167). Five years later, R. v. Sparrow (1990; as cited in Isaac) further defined the Crown's fiduciary responsibility. In Sparrow, Judge Dickson wrote:

> The Government has the responsibility to act in a fiduciary capacity with respect to aboriginal peoples. The relationship between the Government and aboriginals is trust-like, rather than adversarial; contemporary recognition and affirmation of aboriginal rights must be defined in light of this historic relationship. (p. 169)

In December 1997 one of the most important legal decisions of the century was rendered when the Supreme Court of Canada ruled on the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en

Aboriginal title case in the Delgamuukw decision. The ruling dealt with the issue of land title; however, various points of the Chief Justice's statements are applicable in relation to the Treaty 7 people and education as a treaty right. The Delgamuukw decision stated:

> The Crown is under a moral, if not a legal duty, to enter into and conduct . . . negotiations in good faith. Ultimately, it is through negotiated settlements, with good faith and give and take on all sides, reinforced by the judgements of this Court that we will achieve . . . a basic purpose of s.35 (1)—'the reconciliation of the pre-existence of aboriginal societies with the sovereignty of the Crown.' (Pape & Salter, 1998, p. 8)

It is, however, the aspect of the Delgamuukw decision, which relates to oral history, which is significant when considering the matter of education as a treaty right, for although the ruling related to the oral history of the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en, it serves as a precedent for matters relating to oral history—the very essence of the conflict between Canada and the treaty people in the matter of education as a treaty right. The Delgamuukw decision noted:

> Notwithstanding the challenges created by the use of oral history as proof of historical fact, the laws of evidence must be adapted in order that this type of evidence can be accommodated and placed on an equal footing with the types of historical evidence that courts are familiar with, which largely consists of documentary evidence. (Pape & Salter, 1998, p. 3)

Thus the Supreme Court decision placed the oral history of First Nation people parallel to the written word when presenting an issue before the court. The oral history of the people of Treaty 7 regarding what was said and negotiated at Blackfoot Crossing gained legal force as a result of the Delgamuukw decision.

The Dichotomy

Two nations purposely entered treaty making at Blackfoot Crossing, each to secure a mutually acceptable agreement. The treaty resulted in the reversal of land ownership in exchange for reserve lands, one-time provisions, treaty payments, and the commitment to provide educational services for First Nation people. At the signing of Treaty 7 and the earlier numbered treaties, both entities spoke of education being for the "future," providing a basis for the Nations to participate and "prosper" in the new economy (Morris, 1991, p. 237). Shortly after the signing of the treaty, the power and the influence of Treaty 7 people waned as disease, famine, and the collapse of the buffalo economy was accompanied by settlement on reserves. The population of the Treaty 7 people declined, as Table 9.1 indicates, and the reserves were increasingly surrounded by an influx of settlers, villages and towns were established, and Calgary grew rapidly from a Fort to a city—all in the area which prior to 1877 was the traditional hunting territory and home of the Treaty 7 people.

Table 9.1

1871 to 1921 Population Statistics

	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
Treaty 7	--	7,789	5,648	3,633	Unknown	**3,165
Lethbridge	--	--	2,072	8,050	9,035	11,097
Fort Mcleod	--	--	--	796	1,844	1,723
Cardston	--	--	--	639	1,207	1,612
Pincher Creek	--	--	--	335	1,027	888
Gleichen	--	--	--	101	583	668
Calgary	--	--	3,876	4,392	43,704	63,305
Alberta	*NWT 18,000	*37,754	*66,799	73,022	374,295	588,454
Canada	3,689,257	4,324,810	4,833,239	5,371,315	7,204,838	8,788,483

(Compiled from Dominion Bureau of Statistics and Indian Affairs Annual Reports)
* Excludes Manitoba
**1917

The Supreme Court of Canada, however, has recognized "the autonomy and independence of Aboriginal peoples in early North American relations and has provided contemporary protection for treaties formed in that period" (Borrows & Rotman, 1998, p. 677). The rulings, however, respecting treaty and Aboriginal rights did not occur until the late 20th century, decisions which decreed that the language used in treaties not be construed to prejudice First Nations and that treaty rights are not only are *sui generis*—a unique right—but cannot be described by reducing them to Anglo-Canadian legal terminology (Reiter, 1995, p. 5). Despite the court rulings, however, a century of federal administrative procedures and policies relating to First Nations are seemingly entrenched and occupy paramount positions in the day-to-day operations of government operations and in the relationship between First Nations and the Department of Indian Affairs (Bellegarde, 1993). The 100-year history of treaty obligations being subservient to the will of government administration is difficult to overcome. Education as a treaty right remains confined to the parameters of interpretation of the Crown. From the outset of the signing of Treaty 7, The People brought forth their understanding of what was negotiated at Blackfoot Crossing and pressured the government to fulfil its commitments. In 1879 the Peigan Nation petitioned Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney when he arrived in Fort Macleod to have their reserve land surveyed, and in 1884 Blackfoot Confederacy Chiefs argued, to little avail, the discrepancies between what they understood was negotiated at Blackfoot Crossing and what was provided by representatives of the government. From the beginning, First Nations demanded that their negotiated treaty rights be implemented. To the Government of Canada, the Indian Act was paramount—fulfilling its constitutional duty. For the most part, prior to legal challenges of the 1980s, the treaties were to Canada simply historical documents, negotiated to comply with the requirement specified in the purchase agreement for the Hudson's Bay Company's lands in 1869. To First Nations, the treaties were the embodiment of their solemn agreement with the Crown. From Confederation until the 1980s, for Canada the Indian Act was firmly established as the mechanism for providing all services, including education, to the people of Treaty 7. Promises of education negotiated at Blackfoot Crossing have yet to be fulfilled.

A Treaty Right to Education

During Canada's century of silence on the Treaties, The People kept the treaties alive through their oral history and continued to press, from time to time, for the fulfillment of the treaty promises, particularly the treaty right to education. Educational beliefs and methods had been the basis of their communities from earliest times. In 1877 they negotiated a service additional to their own holistic teachings. Aware of the instructional practices of the newcomers, they sought to supplement their community practices with the linguistic and literacy skills of the settlers. To argue that the Treaty 7 people were not cognizant of the literacy skills taught by the missionaries, were unaware of the writing and reading skills of the explorers they guided across their territory, and were oblivious to the schools that were appearing on the landscape fails to recognize the interaction of Treaty 7 people with non-Aboriginals over the previous century and, furthermore, detracts from their history of treaty making to secure mutual benefits. The Treaty 7 people negotiated for the future of their people. Formal education would enable them to gain additional skills and to continue to adapt to changing circumstances. However, unaware of the Indian Act and the policy of the Department of Indian Affairs to "take the Indian out of the Indian" and "civilize" First Nation people into Canadian society in general, The People became trapped in a system which sought to eliminate their own educational practices, languages, culture, and customs—something for which they had not negotiated (Barman et al., 1986, p. 4).

The Chiefs negotiated a treaty right to education, in part for the future of their children, not the alienation of their children from their parents and the gradual disintegration of the First Nation community. A proud and resourceful people would not have negotiated to subordinate their culture. Throughout their history The People had adapted their lifestyle, at their own bidding, to their changing environment. They negotiated with the Cree people as middlemen for trade with the Hudson's Bay Company, spurned the advancement of other tribes into their territory, and adapted their society to the use of the horse, changes which strengthened their identity and control of their own lifestyle. In securing education as a treaty right, The People sought to continue to adapt their lifestyle through the provision of formal schooling as promised by Laird, on behalf of the Queen, and to secure economic opportunity in the future—equity with the settlers. Through the treaties, education, as evidenced by the address of the Cree Chief Sweetgrass at Fort Pitt, "would help lift up" his people and "open a new world" (Morris, 1991, p. 191) to his people. The Treaty 7 people, like the Crees, aspired to establish a new economy and, as Laird assured, them, gain a "means of living when the buffalo are no more" (p. 268).

A treaty right to education meant the opportunity to learn new skills from a teacher who taught within a school building, once The People were settled on a reserve. However, surveying of the reserves did not begin until two years after the signing at

Blackfoot Crossing, and even when the reserves were surveyed and the "Indians settled on their reserves," the Government did not evidently consider it "advisable" to "maintain a school" or "pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians" (Morris, 1991, pp. 353-371) as the Treaties specified. Canada failed to implement the treaty commitment to education. Following the Treaty signing, Canada failed to implement the treaty commitment to education as the establishment day schools was left to the initiatives of various religious organizations. Canada's policy was one of providing funds only after schools were constructed, usually by First Nations and missionary organizations, with the building materials acquired from the natural resources on the reserves. Treaty 7, as in the other numbered treaties, documented that schools were to be "established" on reserves. There is no documentation prior to or immediately after the signing of Treaty 7 that schools were to be established in a location apart from the reserve, and certainly no reference that First Nation children, at the will of government policy, would be removed from parental care in order to attend school. The two industrial schools established by the federal government away from the Treaty 7 reserves both closed, for the most part, due to their inability to attract Treaty 7 students away from parental and community care.

Throughout the negotiations and discussions leading to the signing of the numbered treaties, the level of education or "instruction" to be provided to The People was identified as being equal to that provided for non-Aboriginal students. Education was to lead to equal opportunities, to provide "a living for themselves and their children" (Morris, 1991, p. 232). Morris told the Cree people that "your children will be taught, and then they will be as well able to take care of themselves as the whites around them" (p. 213). To do so necessitated an educational system though which, even if based on different constitutional sections and with different organizational format, required a similar commitment to school construction, school programming, and qualified teachers as evidenced by that provided by provincial school systems to other students. However, as numerous Parliamentary Committees and the 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples documented, the level and type of education provided for First Nation students over the past century failed to provide equitable educational opportunity and ultimately failed to foster economic prospects for First Nation people.

Prior to the Treaty signing, The People had, as a community, provided holistic and lifelong learning opportunities for all their people. Education was integrated into their way of life and the process of education determined by the community. All negotiations preceding the numbered treaties focussed on the Crown providing teachers and maintaining schools on the reserve, and did not suggest that The People would lose control of the education of their children or have minimal if any input into the schooling process. In the treaty negotiations of educational services, The People were not requested to relinquish their right to control the education process for their people. There is no indication that in gaining the provision of teachers, The People were informed or understood that they were not only ceding educational jurisdiction of their children to the Crown but ultimately acquiescing their parental rights to the Department of Indian Affairs.

These factors begin to focus on the issue between the Treaty 7 people and the Crown. The People were promised a service equal to that provided to others, and clearly that was not achieved. The People negotiated in good faith for "instruction" to be provided by the Crown within the confines of their reserve communities. Yet it was the missionaries who initially established day schools on the reserves, secured teachers, and attempted to provide educational services. When Canada did establish a school a decade after the signing of Treaty 7, it was not within the boundaries of the treaty negotiations; it was located away from the Treaty 7 reserves. Certainly the Treaty 7 people resisted sending their children to schools situated a considerable distance from their community, as revealed in the reports of the principals of Saint Joseph's Industrial School. Although the Department of Indian Affairs policy after 1895 stated that education was compulsory for all Indian children, it is clear from the minutes of Parliamentary Commissions that as late as 1960, school facilities did not exist on numerous reserves across Canada, including on two of the Stoney reserves. Compulsory education was simply a hollow statement. Schools which did exist were often considered inferior to non-Aboriginal school facilities; programming lacked financial resources; and, similarly, teachers' salaries were below provincial levels.

Industrial and residential schools established by the government further separated the type and quality of schooling provided for First Nation students from that provided by various provincial school divisions for non-Aboriginal students. Residential schools limited the time that First Nation children spent on academic skills. The students were required to spend half of each school day on domestic and agricultural endeavours. Residential schools remained the norm until the mid-20th century; the last Treaty 7 residential school closed in the 1980s. In comparison, non-Aboriginal children received academic training for the full school day, and only the social elite sent their children away to boarding schools, and then usually because of the quality of the academic program in such schools.

When the representatives of The People and the Treaty Commissioners signed Treaty 7, The People believed that the agreement was between their two nations. They were unaware that the Government of Canada had, the previous year, enacted the Indian Act, which defined all the uniform services the federal government provided to First Nations across Canada and failed to differentiate to any significant degree education from any other service. The Indian Act had major repercussions on the lives and livelihood of First Nation people, particularly on their socioeconomic relationships with other Canadians, because the act became the vehicle by which the Department of Indian Affairs provided and administered Indian education (Carter, 1999, pp. 163-164). Treaty 7 became for almost 100 years a dormant document cast aside by a government which created its own legislation, policy, and procedures to provide education for First Nations in federal schools or relied upon tuition agreements with the provinces or individual school boards to fulfil their constitutional responsibility. As late as 1984, in the *Handbook of Case Law on the Indian Act* published by Department of Indian Affairs, the book declared that treaties and the Indian Act were secondary, because

> the most important documents governing Indian education are the agreements on Indian education entered into by the federal government with various provinces, local school boards and Indian bands. These agreements and the patterns of government funding are the real framework for Indian education, not sections 114 to 123 of the Indian Act. (Burrell & Sanders, 1984, p. 225)

The 1980s marked, however, a resurgence of the involvement of Treaty 7 people and other First Nation people across Canada in the education of their children. First Nation demands for appropriate quality educational services, as evidenced in *Citizens Plus* (Indian Chiefs of Alberta, 1970), *Indian Control of Indian Education* (National

Indian Brotherhood, 1972). The on-going demand for the fulfillment of the treaty right to education, the poor record of formal First Nation education, coupled with the court rulings on treaty rights foster a reawakening of Canada's commitment to First Nation education. Although the Canadian government accepted the principle of *Indian Control of Indian Education*, it did not change its mode of operation from administering education in line with the Indian Act. The promise of a treaty right to education, the opportunity not only to gain quality formal education but also at the same time to maintain their own linguistic and cultural identity remained elusive, as did the opportunity for many of The People to participate meaningfully in the Canadian economy. In 1975 the OECD's External Examiners Report on *Educational Policy in Canada* stated, "Enormous disparities in opportunities for school success" (section 153) existed between First Nation children and other Canadian children.

Assuming the administration of their schools in the 1980s, however, provided Treaty 7 Nations an opportunity to establish schools on reserve which were responsive to their own culture, within their own control and to a degree within their own design. Local control replaced external administrative control. The treaty promise of education became more tangible than ever before; at the same time, the Crown's fiduciary duty to deal equitably with First Nation people as a result of solemn treaty agreement between them remained intact. Support for First Nation education also was manifested in the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1990a). The report recommended significant changes in First Nation education:

> 3.5.1
> Federal, provincial and territorial governments act promptly to acknowledge that education is a core area for the exercise of Aboriginal self-government.
>
> 3.5.2
> Federal, provincial and territorial governments collaborate with Aboriginal governments, organizations or education authorities, as appropriate, to support the development of Aboriginally controlled education systems.
>
> 3.5.5
> Federal, provincial and territorial governments collaborate with Aboriginal governments, organizations and educators to develop or continue developing innovative curricula that reflect Aboriginal cultures and community realities.

> 3.5.6
> Aboriginal language education be assigned priority in Aboriginal, provincial and territorial education systems, to complement and support language preservation efforts in the local community.
>
> 3.5.28
> Elders be reinstated to an active role in the education of Aboriginal children and youth in educational systems under Aboriginal control and in provincial and territorial schools.

In relation to education as a treaty right, the Royal Commission recommended:

> 3.5.20
> The government of Canada recognize and fulfil its obligation to treaty nations by supporting a full range of education services including post-secondary education, for members of treaty nations where a promise of education appears in treaty texts, related documents or oral histories of the parties involved.

The Royal Commission thus recommended the recognition of education as a treaty right, and the wording of 3.5.20 reflects the recent rulings of the Supreme Court of Canada. The Royal Commission stated further that First Nation "youth need a strong foundation in their traditions and proficiency in the skills valued by contemporary society," a goal not dissimilar from what the Chiefs and headmen had negotiated as a treaty right to education in 1877 (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996a, p. 27). In order to rebalance the "political and economic power between Aboriginal nations and other Canadian governments" educational reforms were, the Committee recommended, "not a prerequisite for self-governance; the two must go hand in hand. Measures must be taken immediately to bridge the gap between current educational attainment and community needs" (Royal Commission, 1996b, Vol. 5, pp. 2-3). Education must reflect the structure, practices, and vision of The People, to be seen as a gift to be treasured, blending the traditional purposes of education with the skills necessary for collaboration in the global society.

The issue of The Peoples' demand for the recognition of education as a treaty right will not dissipate until the provision of education fulfils their basic needs, and in so doing The People not only regain the "crucial skills for governance and economic self-reliance" (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996b, Vol. 5, p. 3) but the effects of a century of educational neglect are eradicated. Providing education as an adjunct of the

Indian Act has not effectively served the people of Treaty 7; it is time to respond to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and recognize, implement, and deliver an equitable education service and give meaning to education as a treaty right.

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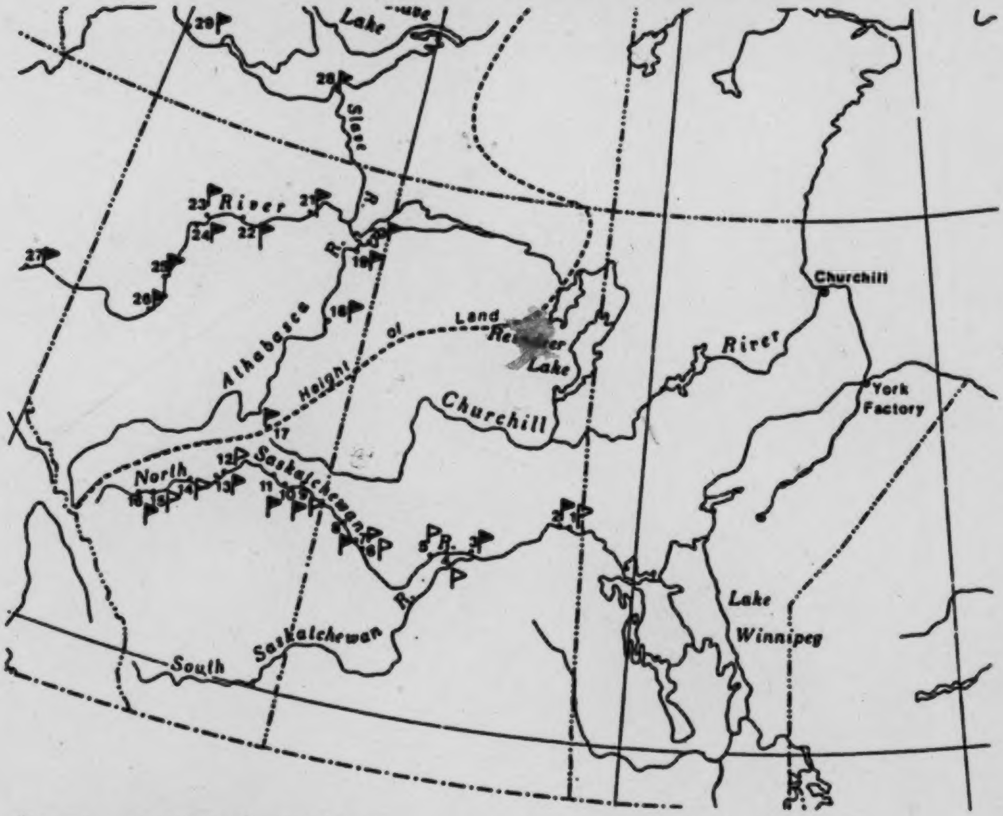
APPENDIX A

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY & NORTH WEST COMPANY TRADING POSTS, SASKATCHEWAN & ATHABASCA RIVER AREA CIRCA 1799

Hudson's Bay Company & North West Company Trading Posts

Saskatchewan & Athabasca River area circa 1799[13]


29
Lake
28
Slave R.
23 River 21
24 22
27
25
26
19
Athabasca R.
18
Land
of
Height
Reindeer Lake
Churchill
River
Churchill
York Factory
17
12
North
16 15 14 13
11 10 9
Saskatchewan
6 5
8
R. 3
4
2 1
R.
South Saskatchewan
Lake Winnipeg

⚑ indicates North West Company Post
⚐ indicates Hudson's Bay Company Post

1	Cumberland House
2	Cumberland House
3	Sturgeon Fort (I, II)
4	Lower Hudson House
5	Upper Hudson House
6	Manchester House
7	Fort de l'Isle I
8	Umfreville House
9	Buckingham House
10	Fort George
11	Fort de l'Isle II
12	Edmonton House I
13	Fort Augustus I
14	Upper Terre Blanche House
15	Acton House
16	Rocky Mountains House I
17	Red Deers Lake House
18	Fort of the Forks
19	Pond's Fort
20	Fort Chipewyan I
21	Grand Marais
22	Boyer's Post
23	Aspin House
24	Fort Vermilion I
25	McLeod's Fort
26	Fort Fork
27	Rocky Mountain Fort
28	Slave Fort (I, II, III)
29	Livingstone's Fort
30	Lac La Martre

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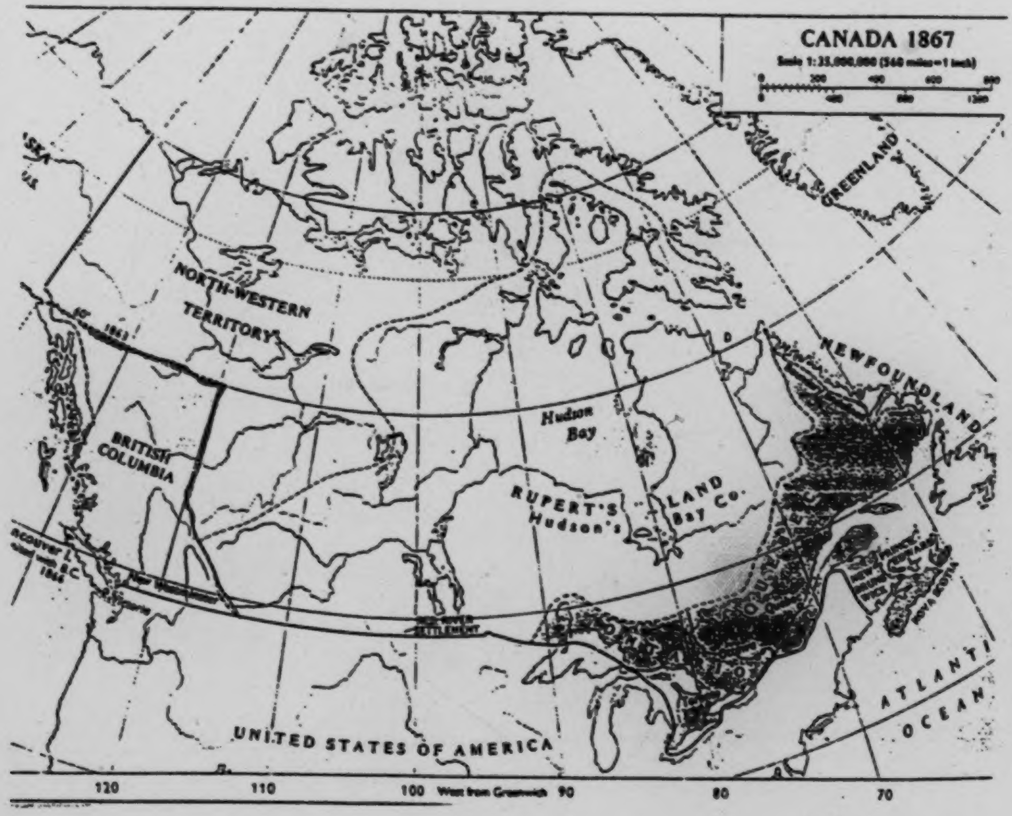
[13] McCullough, E. J. & Maccagno, M. (1991). *Lac La Biche and the early fur traders.* Edmonton: Personal.

APPENDIX B

MAP OF CANADA 1867

MAP OF CANADA 1867[14]


CANADA 1867
Scale 1:35,000,000 (560 miles=1 inch)
0
200
400
600
800
0
400
800
1200
GREENLAND
NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORY
BRITISH COLUMBIA
Hudson Bay
RUPERT'S LAND
Hudson's Bay Co.
NEWFOUNDLAND
NOVA SCOTIA
RED RIVER SETTLEMENT
New Westminster
Victoria
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
120
110
100
West from Greenwich
90
80
70

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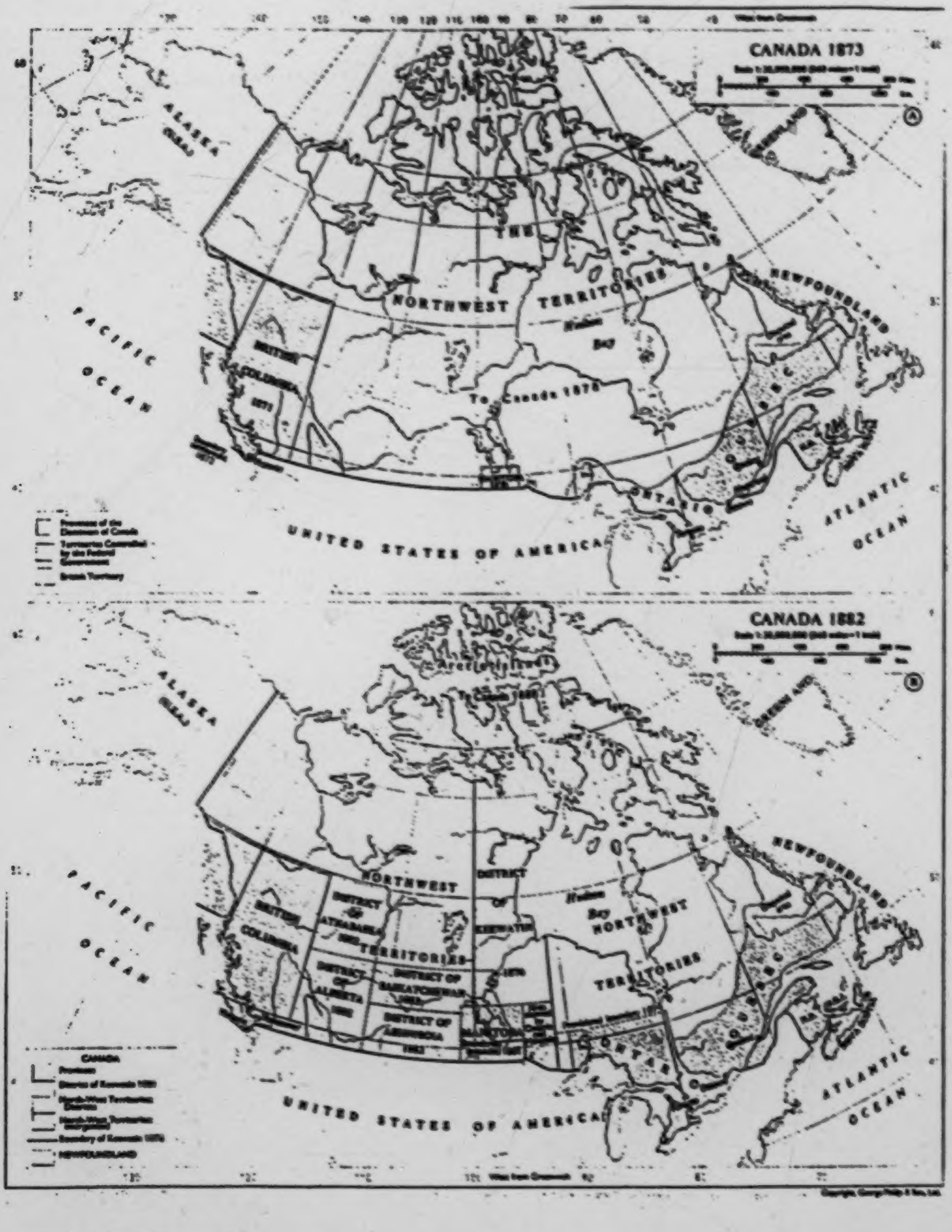
[14] Chalmers, J. W., Eccles, W., & Fullard, H. (Eds.). (1966). *Philip's historical atlas of Canada*. Toronto: Philip & Son.

APPENDIX C

MAPS OF CANADA 1873 & 1882

Maps of Canada 1873 & 1882[15]


CANADA 1873
ALASKA (U.S.A.)
PACIFIC OCEAN
BRITISH COLUMBIA 1871
THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
Hudson Bay
To Canada 1870
ONTARIO
QUEBEC
NEWFOUNDLAND
ATLANTIC OCEAN
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
CANADA 1882
ALASKA (U.S.A.)
PACIFIC OCEAN
BRITISH COLUMBIA
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
DISTRICT OF ATHABASKA 1882
DISTRICT OF ALBERTA 1882
DISTRICT OF SASKATCHEWAN 1882
DISTRICT OF ASSINIBOIA 1882
DISTRICT OF KEEWATIN
Hudson Bay
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
ONTARIO
QUEBEC
NEWFOUNDLAND
ATLANTIC OCEAN
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
West from Greenwich

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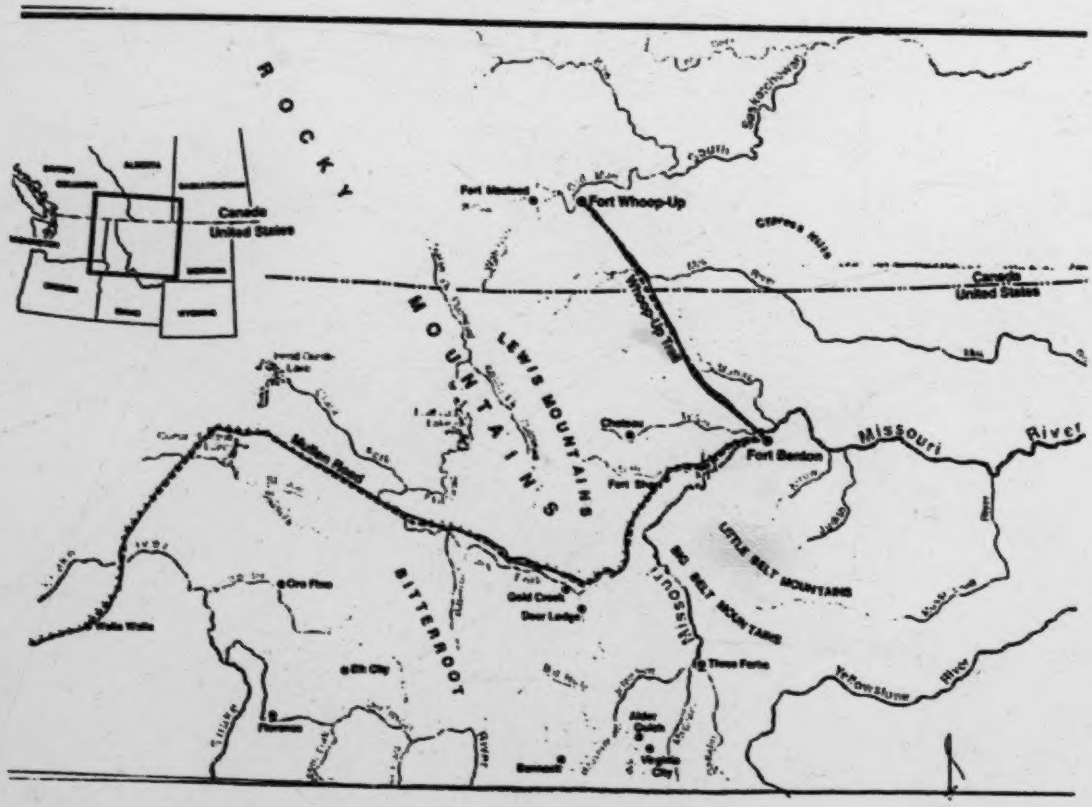
[15] Chalmers, J. W., Eccles, W. J., & Fullard H. (Eds.). *Philips' historical atlas of Canada.* Toronto: Philip & Son.

APPENDIX D

FORT WHOOP-UP TRAIL 1870s

Fort Whoop-Up Trail 1870s[16]


ROCKY MOUNTAINS
Fort Macleod
Fort Whoop-Up
Cypress Hills
Canada
United States
Whoop-Up Trail
LEWIS MOUNTAINS
Mullan Road
Fort Benton
Missouri River
LITTLE BELT MOUNTAINS
BIG BELT MOUNTAINS
BITTERROOT
Walla Walla
Oro Fino
Gold Creek
Deer Lodge
Elk City
Three Forks
Florence
Alder Gulch
Virginia City
Bannack
Yellowstone River
Missouri

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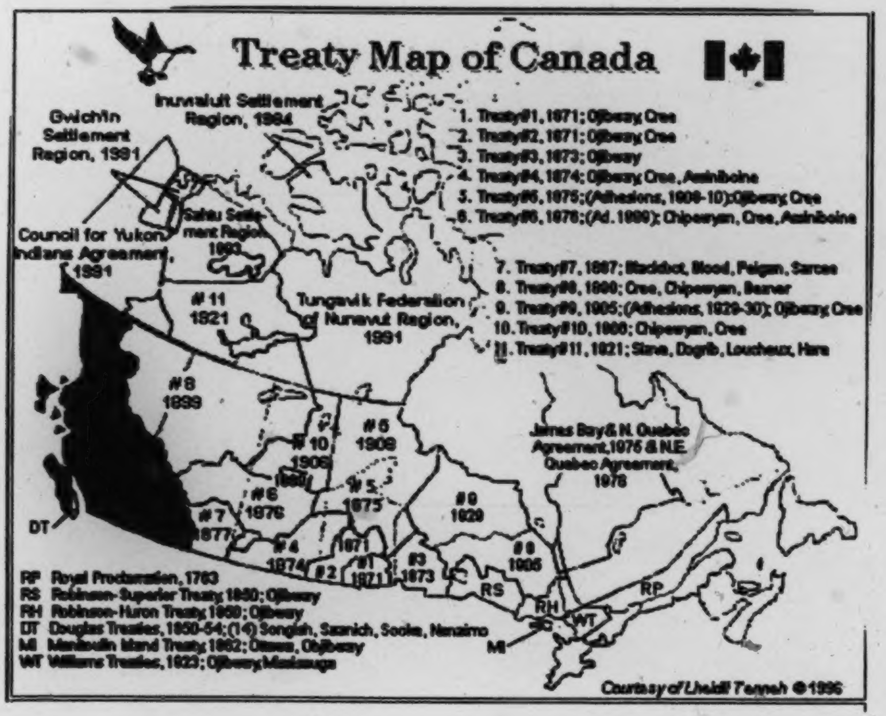
[16] Hunt, W. R. (1993). *Whiskey peddler Johnny Healy, north frontier trader*. Missoula, MT: Mountain Press.

APPENDIX E

TREATY MAP OF CANADA

Treaty Map of Canada


Treaty Map of Canada
Inuvialuit Settlement Region, 1984
Gwich'in Settlement Region, 1991
Sahtu Settlement Region 1993
Council for Yukon Indians Agreement, 1991
Tungavik Federation of Nunavut Region, 1991
1. Treaty#1, 1871; Ojibway, Cree
2. Treaty#2, 1871; Ojibway, Cree
3. Treaty#3, 1873; Ojibway
4. Treaty#4, 1874; Ojibway, Cree, Assiniboine
5. Treaty#5, 1875; (Adhesions, 1908-10); Ojibway, Cree
6. Treaty#6, 1876; (Ad. 1889); Chipewyan, Cree, Assiniboine
7. Treaty#7, 1877; Blackfoot, Blood, Peigan, Sarcee
8. Treaty#8, 1899; Cree, Chipewyan, Beaver
9. Treaty#9, 1905; (Adhesions, 1929-30); Ojibway, Cree
10. Treaty#10, 1906; Chipewyan, Cree
11. Treaty#11, 1921; Slave, Dogrib, Loucheux, Hare
# 11 1921
# 8 1899
# 10 1906
# 6 1908
# 6 1876
# 5 1875
# 7 1877
# 4 1874
1880
1871
# 2
# 1 1871
# 3 1873
# 9 1929
# 9 1905
James Bay & N. Quebec Agreement, 1975 & N.E. Quebec Agreement, 1978
DT
RS
RH
WT
RP
MI
RP Royal Proclamation, 1763
RS Robinson-Superior Treaty, 1850; Ojibway
RH Robinson-Huron Treaty, 1850; Ojibway
DT Douglas Treaties, 1850-54; (14) Songish, Saanich, Sooke, Nanaimo
MI Manitoulin Island Treaty, 1862; Ottawa, Ojibway
WT Williams Treaties, 1923; Ojibway, Mississauga
Courtesy of Lheidli T'enneh ©1996

APPENDIX F

THE NUMBERED TREATIES: EDUCATION CLAUSES

The Numbered Treaties: Education Clauses[17]

Treaty 1 & 2 (1871)

Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school on each reserve hereby made, whenever the Indians of the reserve should desire it.

Treaty 3 (1873)

Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to her

Government of her Dominion of Canada may seem advisable, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it.

The Qu'Appelle Treaty, Number 4 (1874)

Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school in the reserve, allotted to each band, as soon as they settle on said reserve, and are prepared for a teacher.

The Lake of Winnipeg Treaty, Number 5 (1875)

Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to her Government of the Dominion of Canada may seem advisable, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it.

The Treaties of Forts Carleton and Pitt, Number Six (1876)

Same as Treaty 5

Treaty with the Blackfoot, Number Seven (1877)

Her Majesty agrees to pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to her government of Canada may seem advisable, when said Indians are settled on their reserves and shall desire teachers.

Treaty Number 8 (1899)

Her Majesty agrees to pay the salaries of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to Her Majesty's Government of Canada may seem advisable.

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[17] Morris, A. (1991). *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories*. Calgary: Fifth House.

APPENDIX G

HISTORY OF THE MINISTRY OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

History of the Ministry of Indian Affairs

1867-1872	Department of Secretary of State, Indian Branch
1872/1873 - 1878/1879	Department of Interior, Indian Branch
1880 - 1935/1936	Department of Indian Affairs
1936/1937 - 1948/1949	Department of Mines & Resources, Indian Affairs Branch
1950 - 1965/1966	Department of Citizenship & Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch
1966/1967 - present	Department of Indian Affairs & Northern Development